DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 113 064 95 RC 008 769

AUTHOR	Deloria, Vine, Jr., Ed.
TITLE	Indian Education Confronts the Seventies. Five Volumes; Volume I: History and Background of Indian Education.
INSTITUTION	American Indian Resource Associates, Oglala, S. Dak.; Navajo Community Coll., Tsaile, Ariz.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Office of Indian Education.
PUB DATE	74
CONTRACT	OE-0-73-7094
NOTE	199p.; For related documents, see RC 008 770-803
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.76 HC-$9.51 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS	*American Indians; Cultural Background; *Education; Equal Education; *Evaluation; *History; Legislation; Racial Discrimination; Reservations (Indian); *Social Structure; Tribes; Typology
IDENTIFIERS	*Indianization; United States (East)

ABSTRACT

Presenting three position papers, this publication is the first in a series of five volumes on American Indian education. Papers are titled and authored as follows: (1) "Reflections on Contemporary Indian Education" (an introduction to this series, calling for reform via "Indianization" of Indian education) by Vine Deloria, Jr.; (2) "An Historical Overview of Indian Education with Evaluations and Recommendations" (over 100 pages documenting the racial, religious, political, and instructional inequities in the development of American Indian education) by Lehman L. Brightman; and (3) "Eastern American Indian Communities" (a typological study emphasizing the social cohesiveness of eastern Indians despite the traditional lack of Federal and State aid) by Robert K. Thomas. (JC)

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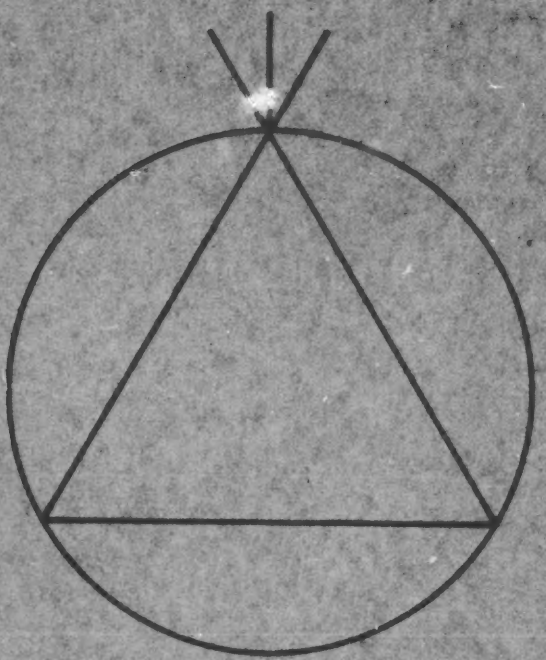
Indian Education Confronts The Seventies

Five Volumes

Volume I

History and Background of Indian Education



RC008769

Navajo Community College
Tsaile, Arizona

American Indian Resource Associates
Oglala, South Dakota

1974
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This five volume series of Position Papers on Indian Education has been printed by the American Indian Resource Associates in conjunction with the Navajo Community College of Tsaile, Arizona. The papers were prepared under a contract between the Office of Education and the Navajo Community College, OE- 0-73-7094, which was in turn subcontracted by the Navajo Community College to the American Indian Resource Associates, Oglala, South Dakota, Mr. Gerald One Feather, President.

The respective papers have been edited for publication by Vine Deloria, Jr, Golden, Colorado who supervised the preparation of the papers and the format of the five volumes. Copies of the longer and unedited original papers are available through the Indian Education Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education, the Navajo Community College, or the American Indian Resource Associates and no official endorsement by any of the parties should be inferred. The papers are presented in an effort to open discussions of the future of Indian education by presenting some fundamental and provocative papers on selected topics of importance in the field of Indian education.

We would like to express our appreciation to Mr. John Tippeconic of the Navajo Community College and Mr. Larry LaMoure of the Office of Education for their assistance in developing these volumes.

Vine Deloria, Jr.
Golden, Colorado

Indian Education Confronts The Seventies

Volume I

History and Background of Indian Education

Edited by Vine Deloria, Jr.

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REFLECTIONS ON CONTEMPORARY INDIAN EDUCATION

by

Vine Deloria, Jr.

American Indian Resources Associates

Golden, Colorado

Cries for reform of Federal Indian policy and programs have been escalating for the past decade and while much of the demand for change has centered on such matters as tribal sovereignty, water rights, and treaty rights there has not been a spectacular change in those areas. Of all the subject matters on the contemporary Indian agenda, education has made the largest gains and produced the most significant changes over the past two decades.

Education has always been a popular topic with reformers. In the traditions of White America the public school system justified to movement for universal sufferage as an acceptable concept. And the warning that liberty would be preserved only by an intelligent and alert citizenry seemed to imply that free public education was a responsibility of all levels of American government, a proper function as it were, of free men. From early colonial days through Grant's Peace Policy and on into this century with the Meriam Report and the several educational acts of recent times non-Indians have

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seen in education a healing magic which could bring Indians into the American "mainstream."

The mainstream has been elusive at best and the goal of integrating Indians into the cultural mainstream of White America has always played an important although ill-defined role in determining the nature and content of Indian education. The present educational climate in which the twin goals of a truly Indian content in education and Indian control of educational institutions dominate the attention of all concerned is thus indicative of a revolution of no small magnitude.

In this five volume series of position papers we present a picture of some of the major issues in contemporary Indian education in an effort to clarify the illusory aspect of educational concepts so that they can be further defined by Indians in the immediate future. One must attempt to create an initial set of definitions in order to understand the conceptual framework in which ideas take meaning and provide orderly thinking about problems. The initial set of definitions must form tools of analysis by which new areas are explored; they must not become the substance of the subject field itself.

Presenting position papers on subjects as important and yet as nebulous as those in the field of Indian education is fraught with peril. There is little concensus among either educators or Indians today concerning which issues are important and which issues within the large number of important issues are of overwhelming and critical importance. Even the most profound observers of social processes are often unable to consider the presuppositions with which they view the world. Clear distinctions between the mechanical or procedural aspects of education and the content of education, the substance which is learned, are still a problem in American education.

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They are not yet defined in Indian education. We are still groping for an insight into the manner in which cultural, economic and social differences corraled and filtered through a Federal trust system really works.

No matter how we probe into the substance of what is taught or the manner in which it is taught or the length of time that we teach we still find the hidden mystique of motivation, variations of the carrot and the stick, competition, and the self-operating adjustment process of social hierarchies a potent if obscured set of forces hiding behind the creation and operation of programs and policies today. We do not, therefore, pretend that educational issues or subjects can be discussed apart from the social, emotional or community context in which they are realized. To the degree that our position papers are abstract they are an effort to isolate educational functions from their life-context in order to analyse the principles through which we understand the processes of learning and how communities and individuals receive and understand those processes.

We do believe that these position papers cut away a lot of the underbrush in Indian education revealing the limits of each subject matter area. In the sense that someone had to define the field, identify some of the features of the landscape, and attempt to illustrate the importance of confronting the terrain, we feel that these papers are a substantial baseline from which new conceptualizations of Indian education can proceed. But they are not definitive in the educational field if by definitive one expects instant keys to unlock all doors.

We are witnessing in Indian education today not so much the intensive development of ideas as the coming together of ideas and

concepts which were formerly separated by artificial and incomplete categories. The coalescing of solitary ideas and concepts around a center of meaning seems to reveal itself in the demand for Indian control of educational institutions. In almost every paper in this series Indian control is suggested as the means by which the educational problems of Indians can be resolved.

The fascination of contemproary people with Indian control has developed over the past decade. In the various concepts of social movement developed in the sixties we find not only the beginnings of Indian control but also some of the companion ideas that relate to it. Indians came into the sixties as victims of an irrational and arbitrary policy of Federal termination of services and legal recognition. Throughout the late fifties and early sixties it was not so much a question of Indian control as Indian survival. Tribal governments were concerned with preservation of their communities and sometimes surrendering political or economic control of their rights was the only avenue left to them outside of termination. As the sixties passed, the conflict in the domestic arena over Civil Rights and the Viet Nam war prepared the public for the advent of Indians as an exotic sideshow to the deeper problems of society. With Alcatraz and succeeding media events, Indians were thrust forward on the domestic stage for their day in the sun.

Behind the headlines of the sixties the movement in the Indian communities was really less a matter of control than a matter of opening up new opportunities. At the beginning of the decade an estimated 500 Indians were attending colleges. By the end of the decade probably 15,000 Indians were in college. Many thousands of young Indians received college degrees in the interim. With the

many programs developed by the tribes in the War on Poverty and with the opening of the programs of other Federal agencies to Indians dependency on the Bureau of Indian Affairs lessened. Programs absorbed Indian college graduates like sponges and many people overlooked the leaven that these new people were introducing into the field of Indian Affairs because they seemed to appear and disappear so quickly.

The Trail of Broken Treaties brought the focus of Indian Affairs back to the Bureau for a brief moment and sparked an emotional declaration of independence by Indians. The generation of young Indians who had come to power during the sixties had not really tied their psychological survival to the power and decision-making functions of the Bureau. The occupation probably served only to affirm their suspicions that any progress in the future would have to be made by Indians themselves outside the Bureau. The invincibility of the Federal government seemed to fade with the departure of the caravan participants and may have provided the final impetus for making Indian control of institutions the predominant issue of the day.

Even though the Bureau of Indian Affairs had contracted with tribal governments for Indian control of agency functions it was not until Indians wanted to assume control of schools that the contemporary movement became a serious reform effort. Self-determination in a very real and practical sense has come to mean the Indian control of schools and Gerald Clifford, in his perceptive essay on the changing of identities in recent years, has pinpointed the process in which we are presently involved.

The danger in this new fascination with Indian control is that too often it is visualized and articulated as simply political control

over the formal structures of the community. The traditional Federal response to demands for change has been the appointment of "advisors," "committees," or "Task Forces" to which the blame can be shifted at an instant's notice. Unfortunately few Indians have learned that the price of being a confidant of the Federal government is loss of independence and integrity of purpose. An advisor has no other function than to suggest and he must immediately disclaim responsibility when actions are taken against his advice if he is to ensure his independence. He then has no other choice, a la Elliott Richardson, but to resign thus cancelling his advisor's function. In spite of the multitude of educational interest groups, advisory committees and parent's committees that have formed in recent years few issues of Indian education are being focused with any precision. In many instances educational concepts are the conclusion of a struggle and not the beginning of it.

Laying aside the politics of education one is confronted by the harsh reality of American existence in which the tendancy is to identify a problem and consider that identification alone brings solutions. If Indian control of schools forms the basic thrust of Indian education today it must be understood and interpreted as the beginning premise of a new sequence of concepts which relate for us what that control means in policies, procedures and contents of education. These position papers clearly show that one must first bring to the educational scene a conception of a community from which other developments can naturally flow. Aside from its community context, Indian control remains a political slogan but within the community context it becomes an operating principle through which other concepts, procedures, and areas of thought can be evaluated.

Policy changes in education must now be viewed in a different

manner than we have conceived them in the past. The general tendancy to articulate a concept which remains unfilled in content should be replaced by a more specific conception of the areas in which there should be fewer or no controls, those areas in which controls can be spread laterally to include functions not ordinarily conceived as educational, and controls which minimize the political structure and maximize the social and cultural structure of communities. The old informal patterns of social interaction and control must be brought back and given credence by the communities. Policy means nothing to a community if the community lacks the solidarity to enforce its own methods of control over itself. The existence of community controls implies a content to the community which is refined through discipline.

One cannot, in any reasonable sense, "give" community control to a community and both Betty Gress and Lorraine Misiaszek point out in their papers on training parent advisory committees that information on the operation of the laws is given with the anticipation that there will then be an assumption of responsibilities by parents resulting in a corresponding exercise of control. Yet the communities, if they are to assume control of their own institutions, must have some positive self-image of themselves.

The question of Indian control in the policy area remains to be articulated. The policy area should be that area in which the more formal exercise of structural institutional controls as required by the laws under which institutions are organized is gradually supplanted by the informal exercise by the community of its own values as perceived by the content of its self-image so that policies can be allowed to evolve to the role and status of customs identifying the

community as a unique group.

Procedural control of institutions is also an important area in which present ideas must give way to new conceptions of "how" we do things. Operating institutions according to manuals and rules may be all very well, but procedures are continually being altered on every level of organization both in the Federal government and in the tribal or community setting. To the extent to which rules are bent and regulations twisted organizations can function but they soon function without a community context and lose their soul. From within each community must come a spontaneous response to procedural controls that frees rules and regulations from their prohibitive function and image as perceived by the community and allows them to be the court of last resort which receives community appeals only when the community is unable to function informally.

Changes in educational content have always been considered as a function of curriculum committees. More time is spent introducing "motivation" into symbols and concepts of educational content than is spent in examining whether there is indeed any substance behind the symbols. Complaints concerning Dick and Jane may be valid but replacing them with the Indian images does not necessarily mean that the educational content thereby become "Indian." What is more likely to happen is that the content of education remains short of its threshold of achievement because its orientation and expectations have remained constant and only the images have changed.

Content changes in educational programs must somehow reflect the self-adjusting processes of the community and inevitably create changes in both policies and procedures. Institutions themselves must change, perhaps vanish, and be replaced by new institutions or by informal cus-

toms that require no institutions for their perpetuation. A real question in American education is whether it would continue to exist apart from the physical plants in which its institutions function. When we talk about the content of education we are talking about that aspect of education that must continue in the absence of formal institutions.

As Indian control is articulated in these position papers one gets the uncomfortable feeling that the time is not ripe for a dissussion of the content of education. Assuming that we have achieved Indian control in some of the reservation and urban schools, what is there particularly about it that makes it Indian? Is it the fact that Indians are doing it? Is it the fact that Indians make policy decisions? Or that they prepare application forms for grants themselves? Indian control must somehow be more than the performance of all these functions. If it is more, then these functions themselves must change as Indians take control of institutions.

Gerald One Feather mentions that accreditation of Indian community colleges is a high priority because Federal funding sources demand some type of formal accreditation to determine eligibility. True Indian control would seem to be more than accreditation, however, for by determining who is and who is not qualified to participate in Indian education one must inevitably confront the question of what Indian education is and who Indians are. In confronting the accreditation problem we raise additional problems that are related tangentially to the operating procedures that the solution of accreditation will resolve. Action or progress in one shpere must therefore result in a reevaluation of events and operations in another sphere and the watchword should be the "interrelatedness" of things. The next great issue may well be to determine the content of Indian

education and as this generation of Indians seeks to determine its credentials for community leadership and involvement the bicultural aspect of Indian existence in the 1970's will surely assert itself.

Behind the problem of identifying the "Indian" nature of education looms the general problem of determining if it has an opposite pole and what that pole really is. Too much rhetoric flows today concerning the rejection of non-Indian values and the assumption of corresponding pristine Indian values. The fact remains that the real distinctions between Indian and non-Indian are valid only in a simplistic view of the modern world and as this generation of young Indians confronts the question of the meaning of human existence in the closing decades of this century it may well be that the polarities of ethnic and racial identity will pale before the question of survival.

Survival involves not only the whole specturm of community existence but the meaning of that existence. Indians will probably confront that question when they come to the problem of insuring the financial independence of their institutions. At present the trend is to invest untold millions of Federal dollars in Indian education with the hopes that some type of change will result. Most Federal funding, if we are to read between the lines of Eric Van Loon and David Alexander's papers, is really supplemental and based upon the assumption that in some undefined way somebody else is going to be paying the major cost of education.

All Indian educational programs would appear to be presently operating by piecing together supplemental funding sources to constitute an annual budget and this arrangement is true even for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Realistic Indian control involves the

ability of the people to tell their funding sources to go to hell and fund their institutions from their own resources. We cannot expect that development in the foreseeable future because contemporary institutions have been designed to function in an income-outgo financial manner. The fact remains that ongoing educational functions do not necessarily have to perform in that manner and raising a cash budget to perform an established set of tasks may not really be the educational operation of the future.

American education has not considered alternatives to its present financial complex and innovations in the manner in which education is supported in today's society are few and far between. Can Indians shake the traditional conception of education as a permanent income-consuming institution and can this heresy be allowed to exist in American society? The problem for Indian controlled schools will be in defining the degree to which institutions have a separate life of their own rather than an evolutionary existence as a part of a community.

Many people, including some of our authors, have suggested that vocational education be integrated with the other community activities and become an ongoing process of preparing people for "careers" rather than simply remain as an isolated job-skill training program. The idea of career training is futuristic and seems to relate to the practical reality of a specific individual in a specific community. Its effectiveness as a means of conceiving programs depends upon a community's perception of its own relationship with the world beyond its borders. Outside movements and events and the developments within larger communities in a great measure determine the survival prospects of smaller communities.

Planning vocational education to be a function of a community brings up a number of related but interesting problems. To what degree does a community exist by and for itself? How does its economic, geographical, and political proximity to other communities affect the manner in which it conceives itself? What impact does the extensive modern communications network have on the way a community originates ideas? How does a community determine the technical skills it requires? Are these skills largely determined by outside economic and political forces leaving the community only the tasks of continual frantic adjustment?

Although technical skills are in a constant state of change their relationship to communities would appear to be both lateral and heirarchical. If we can link vocational education to the needs of particular communities many changes can be affected. In the past Indian communities have made amazing adaptations in this respect but at the present rate of change experienced in this country only increasing difficulties can be experienced.

The energy crisis had taught us that technology is vulnerable to radical changes when conditions are quickly and artificially altered. The impact of the energy crisis in the educational system should be the reaffirmation of the interrelatedness of things and events. Education today must recognize the related nature of events and develop itself as a parallel movement partially reflecting contemporary technology but maintaining conceptual independence from economic theories.

Communities do not change at the same rate or in the same manner as does technology. The educational function of a community when linked with its social and political processes may well require more

lateral movement than hierarchical. In the future as relationships between these functions are recognized communities may have to view success and accomplishment as the development of a variety of employable skills which allow great flexibility in making contributions to the community rather than as an upward economic movement. Education may not be so much a process of learning skills or mastering subject matter fields as learning those skills, academic and vocational, which enable individuals to change as their community changes.

Future thinking in the field of vocational education will be crucial to the solution of Indian problems and it must therefore articulate the realtionship between vocations and careers on the one hand and the place of career ladders and career-fields within the community on the other. Instead of conceiving education as a two-dimensional process of growth we will be thinking of it as a three-dimensional process of growth, expansion and concentration which creates and is created by communities. In simple language, Indian education must view education as a process of making community members almost interchangeable insofar as they exist in specific communities so that all functions of the community are shared in some degree by its members. Thereafter the loss of any limited number of people will not necessarily prevent the community from realizing its potential. This situation is plainly antithetical to present conceptions of careers and vocations which create specialists with immense concentrations of skill and knowledge and little flexibility. When these people leave a community or withdraw from its activities the community experiences not simply withdrawal but often social and economic catastrophe.

Perhaps Indian communities are sufficiently small that they can

develop vocational education successfully where it could not be developed by larger or smaller communities. Present vocational training programs have been hampered by the high degree of Indian mobility and there have been difficulties maintaining the continuity of programs. While Indian communities have great mobility they also have racial homogeneity to a degree not found in many other American communities so that the two factors would appear to cancel each other both as assets and as defects.

We also have a problem in Indian education in the relationship between educational programs and the relative degree of political stability found on the reservations. Educational programs will not necessarily motivate change on undeveloped reservations or bring order to tumultuous tribes. Extreme political postures may actually be further reinforced by educational programs and the possibility remains very real that in the future we may be confronted by either the secession of factions from tribes or the development of political parties within tribes.

The educational-political question facing almost every tribe in the immediate future is that of identifying where education actually fits into the tribe's political structure. For nearly two decades Indian parents have been demanding education for their young people. Unfortunately they have simultaneously rejected those same young people after they have been educated because they see in them a political threat or a pool of technical skills to be exploited politically by the old tribal factions. Many older Indians do not see their educated youngsters as assets of the tribe but as a peril to their own status. National Indian organizations should work to bring tribal elders and Indian youngsters together to help them see

the functions, talents and capabilities of each other.

As these processes create changes in Indian life and more precise descriptions of problem areas begin to be identified by national Indian educational organizations, Indians should focus their attentions on tests and testing procedures available to the Indian community. At the present time, as Philip Sorensen points out, early childhood programs have been designed primarily in reference to Blacks and Chicanos. Robert Heath points out that tests while varied are grappling with the problems of identity and ability. The areas of testing and the corrresponding adjustments in programs required by testing results must be determined primarily as an expression of a community's image of itself and not as a method of probing individual capacities to respond to data.

If we were to decide today that we should design tests to bring out the Indian nature of education, what questions would we ask? How would the questions be phrased? What techniques would be used and how would the tests be evaluated? These questions are very difficult because we have not yet articulated the distinctiveness of Indian existence. We cannot therefore begin to prepare tests which seek to identify an elusive subject matter that exists beyond our consciousness. We may well be required to change tests quite frequently as we identify differences and come to understand what they mean. As differences become apparent and are capable of description, they become abstract. We must avoid the creation of new stereotypes of Indians in attempting to describe differences while at the same time understanding the nature of the processes of the changes that are occurring.

Recognizing change and preparing to confront it would not seem

difficult if we are ready to admit that there are limitations on the manner in which we conceive ideas and structures. We have already discussed the evolution from "opportunity" to "Indian control" over the past decade as a major issue of Indian education. What is equally important to observe is that educational organizations have changed also. A decade ago the United Scholarship Service was the only national Indian organization concerned with Indian education. It confronted the problem of creating opportunities for Indians in higher education and largely won the battle.

Within the last four years we have seen several new educational organizations created which ought to accomplish a number of specific goals. The National Indian Education Association has been working for nearly four years to provide an overview for Indian education and its annual convention is seen as a convenient forum for the discussion of new ideas and immediate concerns. Many community colleges have been established beginning with the Navajo Community College and the movement is just getting under way across the country. Its present focal point is the Consortium on Higher Education, one of the newest of the national educational organizations, which is working on a number of technical educational problems.

The Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards is also relatively new and has shown amazing ability to grapple with hard issues and to attract constituents to its ranks. As CICSB continues to grow and explore new parameters of community control it may well spawn new organizations to solve the specific problems that emerge as communities gain control of their own institutions. Since CICSB is involved in the technical aspects of achieving community control it may well become the organization that perceives how situations

are changing. While all Indian educational groups should develop a philosophical overview in their work it would seem imperative that CICSB continue to attract people to their ranks who include this aspect of Indian life.

We have also seen the National Advisory Council created by the Indian Education Act of 1972. Even though the law spells out specific tasks for the council its legal duties should not be allowed to overshadow the importance of the informal processes of having Indian representatives presenting Indian concerns as the highest levels of government. The people on the council are all Presidential appointees, carefully screened from a final list of nominees, and we can assume that the President has appointed none but the very best and most experienced Indians. With an excellent full time staff possessing the ability to relate to the many facets of Indian life we can expect that the council will now provide educational leadership in the creation and implementation of ideas and programs for the future.

One of the major tasks of the council would seem to be the development of a more precise definition of the concepts used in Indian education today. We have seen the frequent use of "bicultural," "community control," "self-determination," and "relevancy" thrown about in recent years as people attempted to grapple with the issues. In many instances Indians knew what they wanted to say but did not necessarily understand how to say it. Now with the council we have the opportunity for Indians to clarify the many issues that affect our communities.

Our final problem is one faced by educators of all theoretical persuasions and from all racial and ethnic backgrounds. English is becoming incresingly sterile in its ability to describe and articulate

new concepts and ideas. We find ourselves using the same terms in many different contexts to represent many conflicting kinds of experiences. The use, for example, of "delivery systems" and other words of commerce and technology to describe the educational process may be quite meaningful to the urban segment of our society but as we move away from that sophistication of the urban environment toward the more concrete experiences of the small community we discover that the words do not really describe community experiences.

Indians should bring into the English language Indian words which can be used to describe the nuances and psychological sophistication of the Indian communal experience which English words and phrases cannot begin to convey. In descriptions of the "learning experiences" particularly there is a great need for new words to describe perceptible changes in outlook. We cannot really reform or expand testing, early childhood programs, compensatory programs or other programs without a new language with which to describe the processes that the educational functions of our life seem to trigger. We are embarking on a new era of educational development and the primary task is to "Indianize" education once and for all. These position papers define some of the areas of concern. These areas and the very words we use to describe them must be "Indianized" if the venture known as Indian education is to succeed.

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AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF INDIAN EDUCATION WITH EVALUATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

by

Lehman L. Brightman

Cheyenne River Sioux-Creek

El Cerrito, California

I. Historical Background

Throughout recorded history all societies have strived to preserve their cultural heritage through a continuing process known as education. In preliterate societies such as those of American Indians, life and learning were simple enough to be transmitted rather casually from one generation to the next. However, due to the coming of the White man and the advancement of Western civilization, Indian life style and learning were in for a drastic change.

Starting with the accidental discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492, American Indians and their possessions became the target for one of the largest mass migrations in the history of the world. Perhaps no group of people has ever been forced to undergo such extreme changes in such a short period of time by so many different outside forces.

The discovery of the New World came at a time when the missionary

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zeal of the Christian church was at a particularly high ebb, and the inducement of converting millions of so-called heathens added an additional challenge, not only to the churches, but to the rulers and laymen as well. Consequently, many of the early explorers and colonists were accompanied by missionaries -- Jesuits and Franciscans at first, but later by representatives of the various Protestant sects. It is not known whether missionaries accompanied Ponce de Leon on his visits to Florida, but they did come with De Narvaez when he took possession of the coast around Pensocola Bay in 1528. That expedition included four Franciscans who had come for the purpose of planting missions. Their early hopes for colonization were shattered, but in the following years they did succeed, and missions were established all along the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts.[1]

Realizing the power of education as an instrument of civilization, the early missionaries wasted little time in their endeavor to establish schools. Significantly, the early schools were established as agents for spreading Christianity as well as for the transmission of the European culture and civilization.

If we are to pick a specific date in history to mark the White man's inaugural efforts to bestow (or impose) upon the New World Indians the benefits of his formal education system it would be the year 1568, when the Jesuit Fathers established a primary school in Havana, Cuba, for the instruction of Indian children from Florida.[2]

Education is definitely not an invention of the White man, nor is it his sole possession. Every human society has its own particular method of socializing the young and transmitting culture. However, among the Indian people of the United States formal education as we

know it today began with the coming of the White man and has continued to the present with limited amounts of success. In studying the history of formal Indian education and its evolvement from the colonial period to the present, it seems no phase of Indian education has received more attention than that pertaining to the efforts of the missionaries. Nor is that surprising, for throughout the first three hundred years of contact, the churches assumed the major responsibility of Indian education.

A. The Colonial Mission System

The colonial prelude was an inseparable and significant part of Indian education that lasted for approximately three centuries. During these turbulent years, three diverse and sometimes realistic programs were developed by Spain, France, and England in dealing with the New World inhabitants. The first two missionary orders of importance were the Jesuits and the Franciscans. Eternally at odds and jealous of each other's suzerainty in the church world, these two orders not only worked in different parts of North America, but their educational philosophies and approaches were quite different.

1. The French Colonial Period

The first of the three programs to be discussed will be the work of the Jesuits who established missions in Florida in the 1500s and later in the Southwest area, but their principal activities in the present United States covered the period from 1611 to the end of the 1700s. The Jesuits were predominantly of French extraction. They entered the northern portion of the continent by way of the St.

Lawrence River and centered their activities around the Great Lakes region, the Mississippi River and its various tributaries.

French policy in Indian relations grew directly out of economic interest in the fur trade, and political interest in winning Indian allies against England. France looked upon the superb skill of the Indian trapper and hunter and their relatively undisturbed hunting grounds as real economic assets.

National political and economic concern overshadowed education which was woven marginally around the government's objectives and confined to religious instruction and the imparting of the simplest French customs and manners. Among the missions established for the natives were those to the Ottawas in Wisconsin and Michigan, the Hurons in Michigan and Ohio, the Abnaki Indians in Maine, the Iroquois in New York, and the tribes of the far-flung Louisiana Territory.[3]

In addition to converting the Indians to Christianity, the Jesuits also exerted efforts to "Frenchifie" them. Louis XVI, who gave the Jesuits considerable financial support, repeatedly gave them orders that efforts were to be made to educate the children of the natives in the French manner. Thus began the cruel policy of removing Indian children from their families and tribes in order to impress the French language and customs upon them, as well as to emphasize the traditional academic subjects. The curriculum included reading, writing, singing, agriculture, carpentry, and handcrafts.

As a rule the Jesuit missions were loosely organized in contrast to the closely knit Franciscan missions. Very few Indians were engaged by the Jesuits to work in their large communal centers. Ordinarily, Negro slaves performed the manual and skilled labor in the

south, and White domestic servants in the north. Academic training was neglected to a large degree for both the Indian and the French colonials.[4]

2. The Spanish Colonial Period

The Franciscans, unlike their Jesuit brothers, were mainly of Spanish origin, and entered North America from the south. Five of them accompanied Coronado on his explorations, and three remained behind in the hinterland when his expedition returned to the safety of the Spanish colonial base in Mexico. The principal work of the Franciscans was in the Southwest area of the country, taking in that territory which is now Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and California.

When contrasting their approach to the education of the Indian with that of the French Jesuits, one finds that it was the policy of the Franciscans to gather their charges into native villages surrounding the mission, thus keeping families intact while instructing them in the various arts and crafts which they could use to improve their living conditions. The Spanish priests taught the natives how to plough, harvest crops, clear their land, build irrigation ditches, and thresh the wheat and barley. Instruction also included carpentry, blacksmithing, masonry, spinning and weaving, and the making of clothing, soap and candles. Academic subjects were deemed of lesser importance, and there was no conscious effort on the part of the Franciscan friars to make "Europeans" of the Indians.[5]

Spain was the only nation that seriously attempted the economic absorption of the Indians by training large numbers as laborers. Education necessarily played an important role in this undertaking as well as in religious conversion which was a major aim. The church

and the government sought a common goal and were united in a comprehensive Indian policy. As colonization spread from the West Indies over the mainland, the program for Indian education was adapted to meet the requirements of varying situations. Schools were opened for those Indians who had abandoned migratory life, while supervised settlements were deemed more suitable for wandering tribes and for frontier areas.

New Mexico

The Franciscan missions were quite successful in New Mexico where many of the Indian tribes were living in communities. There natives were taught in a number of monasteries to read, sing, and play musical instruments. Crafts and trades were also taught, and in many cases the Indians became skillful as tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths and carpenters. The Christian doctrine and Spanish customs were also taught to all the natives. The community was further developed by the introduction of livestock and improved farming methods. Spinning and weaving flourished and the natives were provided with tools for working in wood and stone. In the year 1680, a tribal revolt ended the Spanish program that had lasted for more than a half century. This was the last attempt of the missionaries to impart academic instruction to the Indians in this general section.[6]

California

Possibly the most successful of the Spanish missions were those established in California during the middle of the eighteenth century. Spain sent out Franciscan friars to set up Indian missions as a means of extending and consolidating her northern frontier. The San Diego

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Mission established in 1769, became the first White settlement in California, and by 1823, a chain of twenty-one missions reached as far north as San Francisco. In the establishment of the California mission system, the Spanish imposed laws of "encomienda" and "congregaciones," based upon the Spanish Laws of Burgos (1512-1513). The law of "encomienda" held that Spaniards, granted lands to be held in trust for the crown, and were also granted the right to use any Indians resident upon that land as serfs.

"Congregaciones" provided that Indians were to be assembled into permanent congregations for the purpose of evangelization, accessibility of a forced labor supply, protection from other slave raiders and marauders, and ease in acquisition of Indian lands.

The effect of Spanish law was subjugation of the Indians to de facto slavery. Roundups of native Indians took place periodically to acquire new workers. Adequate rations for an Indian man, woman, or child laborer, whose workday was from morning prayers until dark, were considered to be a pint of maize a day. In the beginning years they lived in huts around the missions, and later in stockades on the mission grounds. Deserters were swiftly apprehended by the military garrison which supported each mission.

In the 65 years of mission rule, actual recorded figures show 62,000 deaths and 29,000 births. Disease ran rampant in the compounds. In their hopelessness and suffering, Indian mothers were known to have smothered their babies at birth rather than condemn them to live such an existence. Perhaps more insidious was the mass psychological depression that overtook the mission Indians. Many lost the will to survive.

With the decline of the native population and its effect upon the labor supply, the missions became, economically, a liability and were considered to have failed. They were finally abandoned in 1834, and the survivors were left to shift for themselves in a hopeless state of misery.[7]

3. The English Colonial Period

The Protestant missionaries began a campaign to "civilize and Christianize" the native inhabitants of the New World almost as soon as they gained a secure foothold on the Eastern Seaboard. The two charters of the Virginia Company issued in 1606 and in 1609, both stressed the conversion of the natives, and the Company soon provided the sum of ten pounds in currency for each Indian boy instructed in a colonist's home. The more promising Indian boys were sent abroad until the treasurer of the Virginia Company objected to the practice on the ground that the returning students failed in their work as missionaries.

By 1621, plans were well under way for the Indian college at Henrico, and the East India School for Indians, at Charles City. The Virginia Company laid off a tract of land on the north side of the James River for the college and arranged a grant of land for the school which was partially supported by a contribution from the East India Company. The school was set up to prepare the Indians to enter the college. But both projects were suddenly ended by an Indian uprising in 1622, one which destroyed the town of Henrico and Charles City.[8]

From 1622 to 1693, education was provided only for children held as hostages or taken into homes as slaves. In 1663, the General

Assembly allowed twelve hundred pounds of tobacco annually for the education of hostages according to their individual capacity.

William and Mary College

At the end of the seventeenth century Indian students were admitted to the college of William and Mary, and in 1714 a special school was built at Christ Anna for Indian children. The Indians attending the college lived in nearby private homes until a house known as Brafferton building was built on campus for them in 1723. They were supported by private charity and were instructed separate from the English students. The enrollment gradually fell off and had practically ceased at the time of the American Revolution when the withdrawal of the English charity fund ended the Indian college. The Brafferton building was effectively restored in 1933 and is now one of the most interesting on the Williamsburg campus.

The school for Indians at Christ Anna, a fort reservation, was the only one in Virginia located among the tribes. The trading company controlling the settlement built the schoolhouse and helped with other financial support until the privileges of the trading company were rescinded in 1718, and the House of Burgesses ordered the school closed. There were no further attempts to provide schooling for the Indians in Virginia and the dwindling native population soon removed the need.[9]

The Massachusetts Colony

In the New England area Indian youth were provided formal education by a variety of different methods that ranged from private instruction in colonial homes, to self-ruling Indian communities, to

an Indian College established in connection with Harvard College.

Colonists in whose homes Indians were employed as servants or to whom Indian youth were apprenticed by law were required to provide instruction in Christian faith. In order to insure that Indian youth were receiving the proper guidance the Connecticut colony imposed a fine on those families neglecting the obligation. However, in most of the colonies there was little enthusiasm for the task of educating Indians with the exception of the Massachusetts colony. Here a brilliant young graduate of Cambridge University, who looked upon Christianity civilization and learning as inseparable, devoted his life to Indian welfare. Born and raised in England, Eliot came to America as a minister in 1631. Because of his interest in education, he established a school in Roxbury the year after his arrival in Massachusetts. Five years later, in 1637, when a few Indian captives from the Pequot War were brought to Roxbury, Eliot took an interest in them and began to study their language and customs. Winning their confidence, he began to instruct them in habits of industry and thrift. He developed the plan of bringing the Indians together in self-governing towns, where they could be taught, along with their letters and Christian virtues and ethics, the various arts and crafts of Europe. He also taught Latin and Greek to those Indians he hoped would become teachers and missionaries among their people.[10]

After thirty-nine years of constant effort, Eliot had succeeded in establishing 14 villages of "praying Indians," as they were called, with a total population of 497 hopeful souls. The Indians took part in all work connected with the villages. Streets were laid out, lots measured off, orchards planted, and each village was developed

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economically according to its setting. The first village was planned at Nonantum in 1649, and the village at Natick, the chief town, was laid out in 1651 with a land grant of six thousand acres. A quarter of a century of progress came to a sad end in 1675 when King Philip led an Indian revolt that devastated the area. Many Indians fled in defeat to Canada and New York and some of those taken captive were distributed among the colonists as slaves.[11]

Harvard College

In 1654, an Indian College was established in connection with Harvard College that opened up new avenues in education for Indians of the New England area. This undertaking was supported by the "New England Missionary Society" who contributed a hundred pounds for the building in which Indian students were housed. Although the idea was good, success did not attend the undertaking. Daniel Gookin, Superintendent of Indians in Massachusetts, reported that some of the students returned to their homes at the first chance and many died. A few became schoolmasters, one became a mariner, and another a carpenter. One boy named Caleb, who incidently was the only graduate, died soon after receiving his Bachelor of Arts Degree.

The building was eventually used to house White students and in 1684 a printing press was set up in one of the rooms to print Eliot's translation of the Indian Bible. When the building was razed in 1698, the proceeds from the sale of the bricks went toward the construction of another building in which schooling would be free to any Indian student thereafter attending Harvard College, but because of war and migration few Indians remained in the New England area.[12]

Dartmouth College

A second systematized program of Indian education was developed in New England during the middle of the eighteenth century by Reverend Eleazer Wheelock. Wheelock, a graduate of Yale University and a Congregational minister, founded Moor's Charity School for Indians in 1755, in Lebanon, Connecticut; and later Dartmouth College in 1769, in Dresden, now Hanover, New Hampshire.

Wheelock's policy of Indian education was in sharp contrast to that of Eliot, who organized Indian settlements. Wheelock offered missionary training to Indian students in boarding schools far removed from tribal environment and he later displaced Indian students with White students to be trained for missionary work among the tribes. Both Indian and White graduates were to work in such missions as they themselves could organize. Wheelock's teaching staff was competent and his schools were generously supported by a Scotch missionary society, grants in land and money, and individual contributions.

Moor's Charity School was opened in a small two story building located on two acres of ground donated by Colonel Joshua Morr. The upper floor was used as a lodging for Indian boys, and the lower as classrooms. Students were enrolled from the distant Iroquois and Delaware tribes, while a few came from New England. The boys were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, English, Greek, and Latin. Industrial training was minimized, but the boys assisted with the school work whenever necessary. Wheelock was of the opinion that returns from student labor did not warrant the expense of teaching and the general wear on tools and farming implements.

Indian girls lived in English homes in the neighborhood to learn

housekeeping and sewing, and went to school one day a week to learn to read and write. The girls, too, were to be missionaries and it was hoped their influence would prevent the boys from reverting to tribal ways when they returned to their people. The most renowned of Wheelock's Indian students was Samson Occom who studied in Wheelock's home for twelve years before he entered the school. In 1766, Occom made a trip to England and Scotland where he appealed for funds to be used for the education of Indians and was rewarded by gifts of some twelve thousand pounds. Occom later broke with Wheelock over the New Hampshire plan to train White missionaries and fewer Indians. After the Revolution, he migrated with remnants of the New England tribes to New York and established a settlement at Brothertown where he died in 1792.

Wheelock eventually came under attack by a number of different people who claimed that many of his missionaries were lapsing into native habits and customs. This criticism seriously curtailed Wheelock's influence and after 1765, he rapidly lost students. In 1767, the Reverend Samuel Kirkland was his only White representative among the New York tribes and without the co-operation of these Indians

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Moor's Charity School was doomed.

It was at this juncture that Wheelock decided to move to Dresden, New Hampshire, where he founded Dartmouth College in 1769. Indian education was a secondary concern of Wheelock after he left Connecticut, but he successfully appealed to the Continental Congress for funds to enroll Indians at Dartmouth College in the interest of peace. It is interesting to note that prior to 1893, probably less than a hundred Indians in all were enrolled at Dartmouth College.

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One of the most notable was the late Dr. Charles A. Eastman, of the class of 1887, who was a scholar of distinction.[14]

Indians were also provided with a limited amount of formal education in some of the other colonies. In New Jersey, the records show that only one of the two institutions of higher learning enrolled Indians. At least three Indian students attended the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, but Indians were not enrolled in Queen's College which became Rutgers University. William Penn received little co-operation from his brethern in Pennsylvania when he discussed Indian education with them. Consequently, there is no record of Indians attending the schools that finally became the University of Pennsylvania. Nor were Indians enrolled in King's College which was the forerunner of Columbia University, and the only institution of higher learning in New York prior to the Revolution.

In following the path of other Indian students who received limited amounts of higher instruction in the Spanish colonies the records show that most natives who were so privileged were instructed by the colonial churches or monasteries. Only Spanish and Creole students were admitted to the University of Mexico, and a similar policy prevailed in New France where Indians were not enrolled in the University of Quebec. In the early days of the colonial occupation France and England both sent young Indians abroad for higher instruction, but the plan was short-lived and unsuccessful.[15]

II. Government Support of Early Indian Education

In 1775, the Continental Congress appropriated $500 for the education of Indians at Dartmouth. This paltry sum was increased

to $5,000 five years later.

First Treaty. The first treaty between the United States and American Indians (the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians) was signed in 1794. It provided that teachers would be hired to "instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and the sawyer."

Second Treaty. The second treaty mentioning education for Indians was concluded in 1803 with the Daskaskia, in which the United States agreed to contribute $100 annually for a period of seven years toward the support of a priest who would "instruct as many of their children as possible in the rudiments of literature."

In 1819, under President Monroe, the the sum of $10,000 was appropriated by Congress, inaugurating a period of modest governmental support for Indian education. These funds were distributed to the various mission groups, enabling them to expand their educational programs.

III. Early Education of American Indians Falls Short of Its Goal

One theme runs throughout the history of Indian education; namely, the realization that formal education has fallen far short of its goal. Certainly the Jesuits, whose contributions to exploration and politics are well known, failed to reach their objective of "Frenchification and Christianization" so far as the Native American was concerned. The Franciscans, while apparently successful in their endeavors for a time, discovered as soon as they departed from the Southwest that their Indian converts were unprepared to keep either

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their mission communities going on their own or to resume their traditional way of life. John Eliot's autonomous Indian villages came to a sad end; Eleazar Wheelock's experiments failed; the efforts of the Virginia colonists were disappointing; and the various Protestant missionaries could seldom point to any solid educational achievements among the Indians.

In summarizing the period between 1778 and 1871, when missionary teachers and Federal subsidies provided the natives with their schooling, one educator wrote:[17]

> The net results of almost a hundred years of efforts and the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars for Indian education where a small number of poorly attended mission schools, a suspicious and disillusioned Indian population, and a few hundred products of missionary education, who for the most part had either returned to the blank or were living as misfits among the Indian or White population.

IV. Civil War Marks the Turning Point In Improved Indian Education

During the Civil War years, relations between the races deteriorated, but immediately following this calamitous period there arose a great concern for the welfare of the Indian. At this time the Federal Government began to assume a larger role in the education of its so-called "wards." This sudden concern was brought on by the pressure of different humanitarian groups throughout the country and the Congressional Report of 1868, which outlined the deplorable conditions of American Indians. As a result many people began to call for reform in the educational policy of the government. The two major consequences of this reform movement were: (1) increased responsibility for education by the Federal Government, and (2) the start of off-

reservation boarding schools.

During this same period of reform a number of other measures beneficial to Indians in their fight for education, to wit:

1. In 1870, Congress appropriated $100,000 for the operation of Federal industrial schools.

2. In 1879, the first off-reservation boarding school was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

3. In 1882, legislation was passed to convert army forts into Indian schools.

4. In 1890, appropriations were made to cover costs of tuition for Indians attending public schools.

5. In 1917, all subsidies to religious groups were ended.[18]

A. Hampton Institute

On April 13, 1868, the Federal Government established a new and innovative approach to Indian education, viz; the "off-reservation" boarding schools. This innovative device in Indian education was conceived by Captain R. H. Pratt who had formally commanded Fort Marion, a military prison for Indians in St. Augustine, Florida. While in command of Fort Marion, Captain Pratt had been in charge of approximately seventy-two Indian prisoners who were incarcerated as "war criminals" for a period of three years from 1875 to 1878.

During their three years' confinement, Captain Pratt discovered his Indian prisoners could communicate with their families and loved ones by a series of picture writing which was sent and received through the mail. Capitalizing on this, Pratt instituted a series of "reading, writing and arithmetic" classes in the prison, using volunteer help from retired teachers who lived in the St. Augustine area. When their three years' confinement period drew to a close, Pratt

realized that some of his Indian students showed great promise and made a decision to try and enter some of his more gifted pupils in agricultural colleges in the surrounding states. To both his and their great disappointment, he soon found that most of these colleges were reluctant to accept Indians with "war criminal" records.[19]

In desperation, one of the teachers who knew General Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute, wrote him an appeal asking him if he would be interested in accepting the Indian prisoners as students at Hampton. General Armstrong replied that he would be glad to accept <u>one</u> Indian as a student at Hampton. Upon receiving this news, Captain Pratt wrote to General Armstrong himself asking if he might reconsider and agree to accept more than one Indian. Pratt personally guaranteed the integrity and good behavior of the Indian students and assured the General that the cost of this educational venture would be fully paid for by prominent White people. In the fact of Pratt's earnest appeal, General Armstrong relented his original decision and agreed to accept all seventeen of the former Fort Marion prisoners.[20]

It is interesting to note that Hampton Institute was started by Samuel C. Armstrong who had commanded a regiment of Negro troops in the Civil War and, at its close, received the brevet of Brigadier General, U.S. Army. His conspicuous success with the Negro soldiers led to his appointment in 1866, as an agent of the Freemen's Bureau. While in charge of a freemen's camp at Hampton, Virginia, he conceived the idea of an educational institution combining mental and manual training that would equip the newly-freed slaves to assume their place in American society. With the backing of the American Missionary

Association, Armstrong opened the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute in 1868, and was its Superintendent until the time of his death in 1893.

Hampton Institute was the first so-called "off-reservation" boarding school for Indians. The curriculum at Hampton included reading, writing and arithmetic, industrial arts and agriculture. Soon after the admission of Indians to Hampton they began an "outing system" in which Indian students were indentured out to local White farmers during the summer months to further their education and assimilation process.[21]

The first Indian students enrolled at Hampton Institute on April 13, 1878, and continued there until 1912, when the Federal Government ended appropriations for Indian students. Although Federal appropriations were ended in 1912, Hampton assumed the financial responsibility for any Indian student who wished to remain until 1923 when the financial burden became too great. During the years 1878 to 1923 approximately 1,388 Indian students attended Hampton from 65 different tribes.

B. Carlisle Indian School

In 1879, the first off-reservation boarding school exclusively for Indians was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania under the leadership of its founder, Captain R. H. Pratt. Carlisle, as it was called, was to set the style of boarding schools for the next fifty years. Captain Pratt enrolled over 200 Indian students in the school's first year, representing approximately twelve tribes. The enrollment in his last year as superintendent, viz., 1903, had risen to more than 1,200, and during his twenty-four year tenure the school passed approximately 4,903 Indian students from seventy-seven tribes through its doors.

The curriculum at Carlisle emphasized both academic and manual (i.e., industrial) education. In the classroom, Pratt sought above all to equip the Indian students with the ability to speak, read, write and communicate in the English language, because he felt this was the most vital prerequisite to a satisfactory adjustment to the White man's world. Beyond this, he gave his charges instruction in elementary and high school arithmetic, geography, and history.

In the shops and fields attached to Carlisle the Indian boys learned various practical trades such as blacksmithing, wagon making, carpentry, tailoring, farming and sundry others. In the kitchen and sewing rooms, the girls were taught the domestic skills of the homemaker. Supplementing this program, and gradually coming to dominate it, was the Carlisle "outing system," in which Indian students were indentured out to White farmers (mostly Quakers and Pennsylvania Dutch) to further their assimilation process and supposedly give them practical and gainful experience in agriculture and animal husbandry.[22]

The great majority of students turned out by Carlisle were well equipped to make their way in the White man's world. Instead they were returned to the reservation. Here, although the agent and his staff embraced White values and rewarded Indian adherence to them, the dominant values of society were aboriginal. Moreover, with the spoils system ascendant, the few government jobs available rarely went to Indians, and few Carlisle graduates found any occupation to utilize their newly learned talents. The result was that they either existed in a shadow world neither Indian nor White, with acceptance denied by both worlds, or they cast off the veneer of Carlisle and again embraced the Indian culture and values.

Captain Pratt so fully believed in Carlisle and principles on which

it was founded that he went to great measures to imbue the captive students with his blind philosophy. While speaking at a Baptist convention in 1883 he remarked, "I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked." He further believed the soaking process could not be accomplished by reservation schools.[23]

In order to insure strict discipline of the military nature Pratt employed men and women on his payroll under the euphemistic designation of disciplinarians whose main duty was to thump recalcitrant Indian boys and girls into submission. When some years later a bill was introduced into Congress to put a stop to beatings in Indian schools, Pratt made a special trip to Washington and stormed about, declaring that this bill, if it became law, would mean the end of Indian schools. He won his fight, and it required another twenty-five years for the government to advance to the point where it could run an Indian school without including thugs on the staff whose duty it was to beat the pupils.[24]

Carlisle was turned over to the War Department in 1918, for use in hospitalizing and rehabilitating soldiers returning from combat in World War I. At this time government officials felt that schools closer to the Indian reservations would better serve the needs of the Indian people.

Carlisle is best remembered for its great athletic teams which produced men like the great Jim Thorpe, who made All American in football and later became a hero during the 1912 Olympics. Thorpe later played professional football for a number of years and was the first great star of the professional ranks, and is considered by most to be the greatest athlete of all time. Since many of the Indian students attending Carlisle were of college age, the school was able to compete with

colleges and universities in football and other sports, and eventually achieved a national reputation for the excellent teams it fielded.

1. Carlisle Becomes The Model

Following the inception of Carlisle in 1879, Chemawa Indian school was established in 1880, followed by both Haskel Institute and Chilocco in 1884, and Sherman Indian School in 1902.[25] During the next fifty years, the government constructed a total of 19 "off-reservation" boarding schools patterned after Carlisle. New schools appeared, but the educational policy remained the same. Indian children were separated from their parents and loved ones and transported hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles away from home to eradicate their birth right of being born an Indian.

V. Successful Indian Operated Schools

In reviewing the history of Indian education and its blighted past, it would seem that Native Americans were incapable of directing and maintaining their own system of schools. Which is quite the contrary, there have been two formal systems of Indian education that were successful, and both were operated by Indians, and rose out of Indian needs. The first of these educational systems was developed by the Cherokees.

A. Cherokee Education

The Cherokees had one of the most remarkable examples of education in the United States, and in many cases was far superior to that of the non-Indians in the area. Under their careful and intelligent guidance there were over 21 schools and two academies, with an enrollment of 1,100 in existence by the year 1852. In the 1880s the Western Cherokee

of Oklahoma had a higher literacy level than the White population of either Texas or Arkansas, and they were estimated to be 90 percent literate in their native language during the 1830s. However, after the takeover of these Indian-operated schools by the Federal Government in 1898, the system declined drastically and was finally brought to an end by the United States government in 1906.

B. Choctaw Education

The Choctaw Republic was also very successful in operating its own school system in Mississippi and Oklahoma, developing a total of 200 schools and academies and sending numerous graduates on to eastern colleges. Like their Cherokee brothers, the Choctaws also had a much higher proportion of educated people than any of the neighboring states until their school system was brought to an end by the intervention of the Federal government.[26]

The outstanding work of these two tribes in the field of education is evidence of the kind of results that can ensue when Indians have the power of self-determination. Today after some sixty years of White control over their schools the tragic results can be seen through contemporary records:

1. 90 percent of the Cherokee families living in Adair County, Oklahoma are on welfare;

2. 99 percent of the Choctaw Indian population in McCurtain County, Oklahoma, live below the poverty line;

3. The median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee population is only 5,5;

4. 40 percent of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate;

5. Cherokee dropout rates in public schools is as high as 75 percent;

6. The level of Cherokee education is well below the average for the State of Oklahoma, and below the average for rural and non-Whites.

C. Conclusion

The disparity between these two sets of facts provides dramatic testimony to what might have been accomplished if the policy of the government had been one of Indian self-determination. It further illuminates the disastrous effects of "imposed White control."

Cherokee education was truly a development of the tribe itself, and by the year 1821, Sequoyah, who neither spoke or wrote in English had developed the Cherokee alphabet. Within 6 years of that date, Cherokees were publishing their own bilingual newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix, and the Cherokee Nation was on its way to one of the most remarkable systems of education in the country.

The Cherokee education system itself was just as exemplary as its system of government. Using funds received from the Federal government as the result of ceding large tracts of land, a school system described by one authority as "the finest school system west of the Mississippi River" soon developed. Treaty money was used by Sequoyah to develop the Cherokee alphabet as well as to purchase a printing press. In a period of several years the Cherokee had established remarkable achievement and literary levels, as indicated by statistics cited above.

But in 1903 the Federal government appointed a superintendent to take control of Cherokee education, and when Oklahoma became a State in 1906, the whole system was abolished.

Different authorities who have analyzed the decline and fall of the Cherokees concur on one important point: The Cherokees are alienated from the White man's school system. A noted Indian anthropologist, Willard Walker has stated that "the Cherokees view the school as a White man's institution over which Indian parents have no control." Another summarized the problem as one in which Indian parents and com-

munity have little if any involvement in the schools. Other researchers have placed the blame on the lack of bilingual materials and the ensuing feeling by the Cherokees that reading English is coercive instruction.

Another authority Alfred L. Wahrhafting states that Cherokee parents haven't lost interest in their children's education, just their faith in a White-controlled system's ability to listen to them and respond. "Cherokees finally have become totally alienated from the school system," he reported. "The tribe has surrendered to the school bureaucracy, but tribal opinion is unchanged."[27]

VI. The Treaty Period

The first treaty following American independence was concluded with the Delawares in 1778, eleven years before the adoption of the Constitution. This established treaties as the primary legal basis for Federal policies in regard to the American Indian. The first treaty between the United States and an Indian tribe specifically calling for education was negotiated in 1794 with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and the Stockbridge Indians. It provided that teachers would be hired to "instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and the sawyer."[28]

Treaties committing the Federal government to provide health services were introduced in 1832 when a group of Winnebago Indians was promised physician care as partial payment for rights and property ceded to the government.

From the inception of the Federal government in 1789, to 1850, the United States negotiated and ratified 245 treaties with Indian tribes. In the process, it acquired over 450,000,000 acres of land for less than $90,000,000.[29]

The purpose of the treaties did not differ much from the reason behind the missionaries' activities. Both the government and the missionaries sought to civilize the natives and bring them under their control. But whereas the religious groups acted primarily out of altruism, the government thought more in terms of the value of possessing Indian lands. Gradually the government began to realize that if Indians could be converted from a nomadic hunting economy into an economy based upon agriculture, they would require less and would be much easier to contain. Such a policy would naturally mean more land available for settlement by non-Indians. Education was viewed as the principle method of accomplishing the conversion.

Between 1778 and 1868, when the last treaty was signed with the Nez Perce, Indian people had ceded almost a billion acres of land to the United States. In return, Indians generally retrained inalienable and tax-exempt lands for themselves, and Government pledges to provide such public services as "education, medical care, and technical and agricultural training."

Congress began appropriating funds for such services in 1802, when $15,000 was made available on an annual basis for promoting civilization among the "friendly" Indians. However, the legislative basis for most Indian education programs was an act called the "civilization fund" established in 1819 provided on an annual basis and to be used to convert Indians from hunters to agriculturalists.

In 1824, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was created under the auspices of the War Department, and in 1832, the office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was established under the direction of Thomas L. McKenney who had previously been the Superintendent of Indian Trade. Responsibility for Indian education was immediately placed in the hands of the Commissioner's office.

It was during this period that the government began an extensive program of manual training in agriculture and mechanical arts. As early as 1838, the government was operating 16 manual training schools serving approximately 800 students and 87 boarding schools serving about 2,900 students.[30]

On March 3, 1871, Congress enacted a bill which stated that "hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty."[31]

VII. The Allotment Act

A careful review of the historical literature reveals that the dominant policy of the Federal government toward the American Indian has been one of forced assimilation which has vacillated between the two extremes of "coercion and persuasion." At the root of the assimilation policy has been a desire to divest the Indian of his land and resources.

The Allotment Act of 1887 stands as a symbol of the worst aspects of the Indian policy and is possibly the largest land swindle in the history of the United States. During the 46 year period it was in effect it succeeded in reducing the Indian landbase from 140 million acres to approximately 50 million acres of the least desirable land. Greed for Indian land and intolerance of Indian cultures combined in one act to drive the American Indian into the depths of poverty from which he has never recovered.[32]

Basically, the Dawes Severalty Act (Allotment Act) called for allotment of agricultural and range lands in severalty among tribal members. Each head of a family was to receive a quarter section (160 acres);

single persons over eighteen were to receive an eighth section (80 acres), as were orphan children under eighteen; and other youngsters who had not reached eighteenth birthdays were to receive one-sixteenth of a section. Each person was to be given a "trust" patent to his allotment, which meant it could not be alienated for a period of twenty-five years, at which time a full "fee" patent could be issued giving the owner authority to do with the land as he pleased.

The president was authorized to extend the trust period in circumstances where he considered it appropriate. When all allotments had been made, the president could negotiate with the tribes for the purchase of the remaining (surplus) lands of the reservation. However, such purchase was subject to Congressional approval.[33]

The basic premise behind the insidious act was that "Indians would take pride in individual ownership of their own plot of land and become farmers and ranchers overnight." But the actual results of the law were a diminishing of the Indian tribal economic base from 140 million acres to about 50 million acres, and severe social disorganization of the Indian family.

It physically disrupted the extended family by attaching each household, even each individual, to a segregated parcel of land. The non-agricultural Plains tribes were furnished neither the training, implements, nor the capital goods requisite for a shift-over to a farming economy.

It is further interesting to note that the land policy was directly related to the Government's Indian education policy because proceeds from the destruction of the Indian land base were to be used to pay the costs of taking Indian children from their homes and placing them in Federal boarding schools, a system designed to dissolve the Indian social structure.[34]

VIII. Education, Coercion, and Religious Persecution

During the 1880s the Federal government's boarding school system was operating in high gear, often using abandoned Army posts or barracks as sites. These schools were run in a rigid military fashion, with heavy emphasis on rustic vocational training, modeled after Carlisle. They were designed to separate a child from his reservation and family, strip him of his tribal lore and mores, force the complete abandonment of native language, and prepare him for never again returning to his people. The children were seized at the tender age of six and confined in off-reservation boarding schools until past their adolescence. In the summers they were indentured to Whites as servants. In the schools the use of the native languages was forbidden; they were forced to cut their hair, and wear military uniforms; everything reminiscent of or relevant to Indian life was excluded; the children were also forced to join whichever Christian church, through the favor of the Indian Bureau, had entrenched itself in the particular school.[35]

In order to hasten the process of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians the Federal government passed legislation outlawing both Indian religion and the right of Indian parents to keep their children away from White schools.

A. The Indian Inquisition Period

Beginning about 1870, a leading aim of the United States was to destroy the Plains Indians' societies by destroying their religions. The assault against the tribal and inter-tribal religions was part of an all-out offensive against Indian land and society. The offensive, including its religious part, reached far beyond the Plains region but nowhere else was it so intense.

The onslaught against the religion of the Indians took the form of regulations against religious practices and ceremonies. The master-expression of Plains Indian religion was the Sun Dance. And to forbid the Sun Dance was to forbid tribal existence and to cut the tap-root of Plains Indian personality.

First, in the Sioux country, the Army crushed the Sun Dance with armed force. Then the missionaries influenced the Bureau of Indian Affairs to impose regulations against not only the Sun Dance but all so-called "pagan" ceremonies which they believed impeded the progress of the Indians towards Christian civilization.

In 1884, the Interior Department framed a criminal code forbidding Indian religious practices and established penalties to enforce these ridiculous laws. These penalties were later enriched in 1904, and actually stood in force and effect until 1933.[36]

Due to the vast amount of territory to be policed and the many different tribes, enforcement became rather difficult at times. However, one of the chief means of persecution was not to shoot or jail adult worshipers, but to "immolate the Indian children in boarding schools and there compel them to join Chrisitan churces."

In 1890, the Federal government reached the pinnacle of man's injustice to man when the United States cavalry put into action one of the most horrible massacres in the history of the world, and it was committed in the name of "religion." Here, members of the Seventh Cavalry brutally slaughtered 98 disarmed Sioux warriors, and over 200 women and children. This merciless killing of unarmed Indians came about simply because they were followers of the Ghost Dance religion, which in the White man's eyes was not only pagan, but against Federal regulations. Later this horrible crime was called the "Battle of Wounded Knee," the place of the Indians last stand against the White man.[37]

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By 1890, the tribes were finally beaten and imprisoned in separate, diminished "concentration camps" called reservations by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Once the tribes were placed in these camps they were forced to live by government handouts in the form of rations. Treaty and statute had made the even handed distribution of these rations obligatory; but in practice, and openly, as a matter of rule, the distribution was used to starve the Indians who would not forswear their religion and their tribal customs and loyalties. In addition all authority was taken away from the tribal leaders who refused to serve as puppets under the Army and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[38]

The religious persecution of Indians even carried over into the 1920s, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs forbade the withdrawl of Pueblo boys from school for initiation ceremonies that would pass them into manhood. When the Pueblo leaders refused to comply with the Bureau's religious crimes code, they were thrown into prison. Fortunately when the case came before the Federal District Court in New Mexico the tribal leaders were released.[39]

B. Go To School Or Starve

Many Indian families resisted the assault of the Federal government on their lives by simply refusing to send their children to school. Congress, desiring to break this resistance at any cost, passed legislation in 1893, which used the technique of starvation to enforce compulsory attendance:

> The Secretary of the Interior may in his discretion establish such regulations as will prevent the issuing of rations or the furnishing of subsistence either in money or in kind to the head of any Indian family for or on account of any Indian child between the ages of 8 and 21 years who shall not have attended school during the preceding year.

> The Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, withold rations, clothing, and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and keep their children of proper school age in some school a reasonable portion of the year.

Despite the fact that Congress qualified the law forbidding agents from witholding rations to force parents to send their children "outside of the state" in which they resided, the practice continued. In 1919, it was discovered that only 2,089 of an estimated 9,613 Navajo children were attending school, and thus the Government initiated a crash program of Navajo education. But because of a lack of schools on the reservation, many Navajo children were transported to boarding schools throughout the West and Southwest without their parents' consent. When the Navajo parents refused to comply with the outrageous demand they were subject to both fines and imprisonment.

C. Congress Demands All Seats Must Be Filled

In 1920, the chairman of the House Indian Affairs Committee informed the Bureau of Indian Affairs that the desire of Congress was that every Indian boarding school in the country should be filled to capacity at all times, and where this could not be accomplished, it was his committee's intention to close those schools. From this time forward, Congress was to continuously raise the question as to whether or not all seats were filled in Indian boarding schools, and educational appropriations were to be dependent upon having every school crammed as full as possible. This resulted in moving Indian children all over the country to meet the absurd demands of this outrageous mandate by Congress.[40]

IX. The Meriam Report

The Problem of Indian Administration, more commonly called the Meriam

Report, was a survey of "social and economic conditions of American Indians. Published in 1928, the report was prepared by the Brooklings Institute in Washington, D.C. under the direction of its author, Lewis Meriam.

According to the Meriam Report, "the most fundamental need in Indian education is a change in point of view." The Indian family and social structure must be strengthened and not destroyed, and Indian people must be given the choice to decide the direction of their destiny.[41]

The report was especially critical of boarding schools, both because of their inadequate facilities and the manner in which they were operated. It condemned the cruel and barbaric practice of taking children from their families and placing them in off-reservation boarding schools. Younger children should be eliminated from boarding schools as far as possible the report stated, and for the small number of those whose homes are too isolated to permit education in any other way, small schools conducted on the "cottage plan" should be provided not too far from their homes.[42]

The report was especially critical of the quality of food served in the schools, which it described as lacking in both quantity, and balance, it is served unattractively, and the meals are too hurried for health requirements. The report went on to say how some of the schools only allow the students fifteen minutes to eat, while lectures are provided once a month that expound on the healthy merits of eating slow. The report further brought out the fact that milk, fruit and vegetables are almost totally lacking from the school tables.[43]

The report stressed the need for reservation day schools and an educational setting involving more community and family life. It condemned the inadequate funding for Indian education stating, "cheapness

in education is expensive." The choice before the government is between doing a mediocre job that will pile up serious problems in the future in poverty, disease, and crime, and spending more money for an acceptable social and educational program that will make the Indian cease to be a special case in a comparatively short span of time. Further stating, "that the Indian educational system is financially a starved system."[44]

In other areas of education the report brought out the need for "pre-service training" for prospective appointees, and stressed the need for improved personnel standards for all Indian Service employees, especially "teachers and administrators." Standards for teachers and principals in Indian schools should be raised to the level of at least the better public school systems. The report went on to say, "the national government could do no better single thing for Indian education than to insist upon the completion of an accepted college or university course, including special preparation for teaching, as the minimum entrance requirement for all educational positions in Indian schools or with Indian people."[45] Too frequently a teacher is deposited at an Indian school with no previous knowledge whatever of Indian life, of the part of the country where the work is located, or of the special conditions that prevail.[46]

In highlighting the need for specially trained personnel the report stated, "Properly equipped personnel is the most urgent immediate need in the Indian educational service. At the present time the government is attempting to do a highly technical job with untrained, and to a certain extent even 'uneducated,' people. It is not necessary to attempt to place the blame for this situation, but it is essential to recognize it and change it."[47]

The Meriam Report summed up most of the problems in Indian affairs

by saying, "that the whole Indian problem is essentially one of education." It went on to say that Indian education must be adapted to individual abilities, interests, and needs of the Indian people. A standard course of study involving routine classroom methods, and traditional types of schools, even if they were adequately supplied, would not solve the problem.[48]

In describing the boarding schools the report repeatedly denounced the lack of training standards of employees, the lack of understanding in handling sex problems; in the failure to understand even the rudiments of modern treatment of behavior difficulties; the overcrowded living quarters and classrooms; and the constant violations of children's personality -- opening pupil's mail and assorted other charges.[49]

According to the report any system of education designed for Indian people, that is to be successful will have to comprise the adults of the community as well as the children. Everything in the Indian life and surroundings will have to tie into the educational program in a manner now seldom observed.[50]

The major findings of the Meriam Report were that (1) Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs, and (2) Indians were receiving a poor quality of service (especially health and education) from public officials who were supposed to be serving their needs; (3) For any Indian program to be successful, it will have to involve Indians, and originate from Indians, with Indian leadership.[51]

The impact of the Meriam Report on Indian education led to one of the most creative and innovative periods in Indian history and the changes it brought about were felt for the next two decades.

X. The Indian Reorganization Act

Within six years after publication of the Meriam Report the famous "New Deal" era of the 1930s was brought into being by the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. Better known as the Indian Reorganization Act (48 Stat. 984,985) this was the last major piece of omnibus Indian legislation passed by Congress and provides the basis for most of the Federal Indian administration to the present day.

In 1933, John Collier became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under the Roosevelt administration and immediately a series of new approaches were initiated which sought to repair the damage of the allotment era and to overhaul completely the Federal Indian policy. The key legislation of the period, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, ended the allotment period and laid the groundwork for more autonomous tribal government.

The act, which was submitted to and discussed with Indian tribes before being submitted to Congress, has been called by many as the "Indian Bill of Rights." Among the many changes it brought into being was the end to further allotment of Indian lands, and reservation lands previously declared surplus would be restored to Indian ownership. It provided authorization for the appropriation of funds to purchase additional land for Indian use. It encouraged the formation of tribal organizations and corporations, and established a revolving loan fund for the development of business enterprises. The act also addressed itself to the matter of Indian national resources and granted the executive branch of the government authority to frame regulations for the conservation of Indian soil and timber. It also established a system of special preference for the hiring of Indian employees by the Bureau of Indian Affairs without regard to Civil Service laws.

John Collier became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933, and served in that position longer than any other commissioner in history. The

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Indian Reorganization Act supplied the basis for the Collier Indian policy which the commissioner himself summarized in the following terms:

> The new Indian policy must be built around the group-dynamic potentials of Indian life. This meant an ending of the epoch of forced atomization, cultural prescription, and administrative absolutism... In place of an Indian Bureau monopoly of Indian affairs, there must be sought a cumulative involvement of all agencies of helpfulness, Federal, state, local and unofficial; but the method must not be that of simply dismembering the Indian Service, but rather of transforming it into a technical servicing agency and a coordinating, evaluating and within limitations, regulatory agency.53

In education, Collier started programs in bilingual education, adult basic education, training of Indian teachers, Indian culture and in-service teacher training. During Collier's 12 years as Commissioner, 16 boarding schools were closed and 84 day schools were opened. Whereas in 1933, approximately three-fourths of Indian students were enrolled in boarding schools, in 1943, two-thirds were attending day schools.[54]

Between 1934 and 1941, the Collier administration introduced many changes into the pattern of Federal-Indian relationships. Yet, with the limitations in funds resulting from the Depression, these changes were not fully implemented and before some of the most important changes could achieve permanent effect, the outbreak of World War II interfered.

A. The Johnson O'Malley Act (1934)

Shortly before the Indian Reorganization Act was passed, Congress also approved legislation making it possible for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to contract with state, local and private educational, health, and welfare agencies to provide services to Indians. Known today as the Johnson O'Malley Act (48 Stat. 596), this legislation was in response to recommendations in the Meriam Report which called for enrolling greater numbers of Indian youngsters in public schools and supplying services to the Indian population through the same facilities supplying other

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citizens, rather than through special Federal programs.[55]

XI. World War II: A Period of Retrogression

The period of progress under the Indian Reorganization Act had only been in operation for seven years when America entered World War II. During these years of national peril many Bureau superintendents and other local officials, as well as younger Indians competent to assume tribal leadership joined the military service. Almost immediately there was a reduction in the Indian Service appropriations, and as the defense expenditures mounted, the Indian budget was slashed. Physical plants, roads, schools, hospitals, vehicles, telephone systems,[56] and other facilities deteriorated.

In Congress there was talk of abolishing the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and even repealing the Wheeler-Howard Act. For American Indians these were bitter years in which little if any progress was made, if not, indeed, retrogression.[57]

In 1944, an investigation by O'Conner-Mundt House Committee on Indian Affairs reported that, although the Wheeler-Howard Act had in some instances aided the Indians, progress toward assimilation had lagged. The committee then offered recommendations on achieving "the final solution of the Indian problem." In almost every instance, the committee called for a return of the pre-Meriam policies. It criticized reservation day schools for adapting education to the Indian and to his reservation way of life. It said, "real progress" would be made only when Indian children of elementary school age were once again taken from their homes and placed in off-reservation boarding schools. "The goal of Indian education," according to the committee, "should be to make the Indian child a better American rather than to equip him

simply to be a better Indian."

The House committee's attitude was indicative of the new government thinking. By 1948, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at the urging of Congress, was setting criteria for determining a tribe's readiness for withdrawl of Federal services. However, Commissioner John Nichols in 1949, argued that development of existing services, not termination of them, was needed, but his plea went unheeded.[58]

A. The Termination Period

By 1950, the Indian policy of the Federal government was in complete reverse. It was a return to the dominant policy of the Federal government--coercive assimilation of the American Indian. The goals were to get rid of Indians and Indian trust land by terminating Federal services and recognition, and relocating Indians into urban areas off the reservation.

In 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed down all Federal schools in the states of "Washington, Michigan, Idaho, and Wisconsin." Loans to Indian students authorized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 were discontinued. The following year in 1953, a number of boarding and day schools were closed, and Indian students were transferred into public schools. Those Federal boarding schools still in operation utilized a "forced assimilation" approach by educating the children far from their homes (Navajo children in Oregon, Northwest Indians in Oklahoma) so they supposedly would forget their family and reservation way of life.[59]

B. Legislative Base for Termination

The legislative base for the termination policy was laid in 1953,

under the Eisenhower Administration which rode to power, in part on a pledge to diminish the role of the Federal government. In that year two bills were passed that created the legal foundation for this devious work.

1. House Concurrent Resolution #108 - House Concurrent Resolution #108, called for the end of Federal services to Indians.

2. Public Law #280 - Public Law #280, transferred Federal jurisdiction over law and order on Indian reservations to individual states in which the reservations reside. In that same year (1953) Congress legislated the transference of civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian reservations in the states of California, Oregon, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Wisconsin.[60]

In 1954, 10 termination bills were introduced with six of them passing. From 1954 through 1960, many laws and amendments were passed abolishing tribes as political entities to "get the United States out of the Indian business"-- and shifting responsibility for Indian affairs from the Federal government to the states. During these years sixty-one tribes, groups, communities, rancherias, or allotments were terminated.[61]

Then on September 18, 1958, the termination period was brought to a partial halt, when the Secretary of the Interior, Fred Seaton, announced that no tribe would be terminated without its consent.[62] Despite the Secretary of Interior's statement, the threat of termination still hangs over Indian people like an evil cloud ready to burst at any time, or when the government changes its mind.

The effect of termination has been to deprive Indians of both their property and the public services for which the Federal government has long been obligated.

XII. Federal Funds That Support Indian Education in Public Schools

American Indians have a unique claim on the United States for support of their children's education. That claim is based on treaties signed between the Federal government and Indian Nations, and on laws passed by Congress which specifically provide funds for the education of Indian children.

In 1890, the Federal government first appropriated funds to cover costs of tuition for Indians attending public schools. Today, approximately two-thirds of all Indian children attend public schools. While they have a special claim to Federal support, Indian children are also entitled to the same educational opportunities as other children. They have a constitutional right to equal protection under state and Federal laws, and as state citizens to state aid for public schools.

Indian children who attend public schools are entitled to benefits from three Federal financial programs, (1) Impact Aid, (2) Johnson O'Malley, and (3) Title I, of the Elementary and Secondary Educational Act. In 1971, the combined budget from these three sources of Federal aid amounted to over $66 million annually for the support of Indian children in public schools.

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A. Impact Aid

Indian children qualify public school districts for Federal money under the Impact Aid Legislation if their parents live and work on Federal property. There are two parts to the Impact Aid Laws, P.L. 874 and P.L. 815, both were passed in the 1950s by Congress primarily as a result of the military and defense activities of the Federal government. There purpose was to provide Federal financial assistance

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where Federal activities, chiefly military installations, created a financial burden on local school districts. Congress wanted to compensate school systems for the loss of part of their tax base when Federal installations were established in the community. The two categories of Impact Aid are:

1. P.L. 874 - P.L. 874, provides funds to local school districts for general operating expenses paid in lieu of local taxes. It is interesting to note that Indians were not included in P.L. 874 when it was first enacted into law. They were excluded at the request of state directors of Indian Education who feared that districts in their states would lose Johnson O'Malley funds if they received Impact Aid money. However, in 1958, Congress decided to permit "dual funding," a concept which allowed a school district to receive payments from both Impact Aid and Johnson O'Malley on the theory that Impact Aid would provide general operating funds in lieu of taxes and Johnson O'Malley would support special programs for Indians.

Indian children qualify a district for Impact Aid under Section 3a and 3b. Section 3a applies to children whose parents live and work on Federal property, and Section 3b applies to children whose parents either live on Federal property or work on Federal property, but not both.

The amount of P.L. 874 money a district may receive is based on a formula which takes into consideration the "local contribution rate" (that is the expenditure per child coming from local taxes), plus the average daily attendance count for eligible children. Districts receive 100% of the average local contribution rate for Section 3a children and 50% of the average local contribution rate for 3b children.

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2. P.L. 815 - P.L. 815, provides funds for school construction in

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districts where there are Federally connected children. When this law was first enacted by Congress, the law provided that a district had to have an enrollment increase in order to qualify. That did not apply to districts where Indian children were enrolled, since the problem in those districts was that many Indian children were not in public schools because there were no facilities for them, and that the local district could not afford to construct schools.

The law was amended in 1953 to include such districts. Section 14 was enacted specifically to provide funds to local districts to assist them in building schools for Indians. From 1953 until 1971, Congress spent $55,233,523 for schools for approximately 48,479 Indian students.[65]

B. The Johnson O'Malley Act

The Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934, is the only Federal education program which uniquely benefits Indians. The law, as currently administered, is intended to provide Federal funds to states to enable them to educate eligible Indian children in their public school system. All children of one-quarter Indian ancestry whose parents live on or near Indian reservations under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are eligible for assistance.

Johnson O'Malley funds are allocated to individual states, the money is given to the State Department of Education's division of Indian Education, who in turn contract with local school districts. In the 1970-71 fiscal year the Bureau of Indian Affairs contracted with 14 states and 11 individual districts in six other states to provide assistance to hundreds of public school districts.

The Johnson O'Malley Act has been the Federal government's primary means of transferring responsibility for Indian education to the pubiic

schools. It is designed to accomplish three things: (1) to get the Federal government out of the business of educating Indian children; through financial inducement, (2) to further the long-established practice of turning over responsibility for Indian education to the states and local districts, (3) to "civilize" Indians, the historical goal of Federal Indian legislation.

It was thought that in public schools "daily contact with White children would facilitate their civilization and eventually contribute to the enlightenment of adult Indian parents."

The language of the Act is broad and ambiguous. It authorizes the Secretary of Interior to make contracts with any state "for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance and social welfare of Indians." The only specific criterion required by Congress for receiving Johnson O'Malley funds is that "minimum standards of service are not less than the highest maintained by the states. The amount of money a school district may get is supposed to be that sum of money which a district needs to operate an "adequate school" for Indian children after all other sources of local, state and Federal money have been counted.[66]

C. Title I Funds

Apart from the Johnson O'Malley Act designed to benefit Indian children, poor and educationally deprived Native American children are also entitled to aid from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Title I provides financial assistance to local school districts for supplemental educational services to economically and educationally deprived students. As of 1971 more than two-thirds of all public school

districts were participating in the Title I program. This amounted to approximately $1.5 billion for some nine million students.

Virtually all Indian children qualify for Title I assistance. The Title I allocation to each district is based on the number of children residing in the district who are from the families receiving "Aid for Families with Dependent Children" payments or those having an income of less than $2,000 per year. Furthermore, all students who attend schools with high concentrations of low-income students, and who are educationally deprived, that is, below grade level in achievement -- are eligible to receive Title I services.

Under Title I, the United States Commissioner of Education makes lump sum payments to state departments of education, which, in turn, approve and fund projects for educationally disadvantaged children proposed by local school districts. The Federal government does not require particular projects or administer any projects; rather, local school administrators have broad discretion to select and implement those programs which, in their view, will achieve the purposes of the Act.

Title I is not supposed to be used for general aid. All approved projects must conform to regulations and program guides promulgated by the U.S. Office of Education. The state educational agencies must give assurances to the Federal government that Title I funds are being spent in conformity with the law. The Commissioner of Education may suspend payments to any state which fails to meet its statutory and administrative obligations.

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D. Conclusion

In 1934 Congress passed the Johnson O'Malley Act which authorized

the Bureau of Indian Affairs to make grants to public schools to provide educati[illegible] for Indians. Public Laws #874 and #815 also give Federal money to the public schools for this purpose. What these schools do with this money is of great concern since increasingly the Bureau of Indian Affairs is transferring its educational responsibility to the public schools. As an example of this, today, approximately two-thirds of all Indian students attend public schools and the amount is increasing.

Most of the evidence from Congressional reports to those conducted by private concerns point to the fact that Indian children are receiving a poor quality of education. The Federal government has failed to use its financial power to force quality controls on the use of these funds. Consequently, the states in most cases are using them (Johnson-O'Malley, #874, and #815 funds), to reduce their own tax burden.

Special programs for Indian students are almost nonexistent. In fact, most State Indian Education Divisions do little more than "bookkeeping" in the administration of these Federal funds. Research shows that Title I and Johnson O'Malley funds that are brought into public schools for the "exclusive" use of Indians are being spent on everything from "closed-circuit T.V., to golf sets," and in many cases Indian children are being denied free meals and transportation.

A few examples of this abuse are: "No transportation was provided for Indian children in Dunsieth, N.D. who had to stay in after school. Yet, the children had to walk long distances in cold winter weather. In McLaughlin, S.D. a crippled Indian boy had to walk on his crutches three miles to the highway to get the school bus. When the weather became cold, the boy dropped out of school. An Indian bus driver in New Town, N.D. drove out of his way to pick up Indian children in bad weather. Indian parents reported that he was told to stick to the route

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or he would be fired.

In Page, Arizona, Indian parents have to sign a statement each month indicating that they do not have money for their children's lunch bill. JOM students are then singled out in the cafeteria. Indian children in Madras, Oregon are charged for their lunches, and they must pay in advance. As a result some children stay home a week at a time, or go hungry at school.

In Tuba City, Arizona, needy Indian children must declare their poverty daily although the district is reimbursed for all their lunches. The procedure for obtaining a lunch is that each morning, students are asked if they will be eating lunch and if they brought their own money. Students who wish to eat, but have no money then receive different colored lunch tickets. In previous years, all students were charged 25¢ for lunch, and if parents were unable to pay, they had to

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"come to school to explain their situation."

In describing some of the glaring cases of misuse of Federal funds in regard to Impact Aid, the Gallup-McKinley County School District in New Mexico provides a very clear example. The Indian Hills Elementary School which has an enrollment of 294 of which only one-third is Indian is located in a middle-income area of the town of Gallup. The school has a split level, carpeted library; carpeted music room; uncrowded and well-equipped classrooms; a gymnasium and a separate cafeteria. There are plenty of showers, toilets, and drinking fountains. There is a paved courtyard. The school has closed-circut T.V. Although Indian Hills Elementary is not a Title I target school, they were using Title I equipment.

Five miles away from Indian Hills School is the Church Rock Elementary School with a 97 percent Navajo enrollment. The school is a barrack-like structure surrounded by mounds of sand that drift in through cracks

in doors and windows. The "all purpose" assembly hall serves as a cafeteria, gymnasium and assembly hall. There are four temporary classrooms which have no extra sanitary facilities. The classrooms are dark and crowded, the furniture is worn and old.

Also in the Gallup-McKinley district is the Thoreau Elementary and High School which is predominantly Indian. The main structure of the elementary school is surrounded by 12 metal mobile classrooms. The mobiles permit a doubling of the enrollment, but no additional toilet or water facilities exist. All students must share the same lunch room. The Thoreau High School is the most overcrowded school in the system. Although it is only three years old, the school, which was built with P.L. 815 funds, was inadequate and overcrowded when it opened. A reporter for the Gallup Independent newspaper, described the six classrooms surrounding the school as "wooden shacks," four of which were not fit to be used. Built just after World War II, these buildings are in such a state of disrepair that during the winter, it is not uncommon for teachers to find an inch of snow on the classroom floor. Students in science and home economics classes have to stand and watch the experiments and projects because of lack of space and equipment. The library is located in a classroom too small to hold all the books. 70

This wide spread misuse of Federal dollars intended for Indian students is a national crime, and the blame falls direction on the Federal and state governments. The Office of Education in Washington has been derelict in administering the laws intended to benefit Indian children. state officials are equally guilty, and have not bothered to monitor and audit how these funds are spent. Then on the other hand we have (America's Colonial Office) the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose duty it is to look out for the interests of Indian people. They should above all other agencies check and double check to assure that Indian students

are receiving the proper care, but they too have failed, miserably, as usual.

Local school districts have been given a "carte blanche," that entitles them to unlimited amounts of money that benefits everyone except those it was earmarked for, "Indian people." While these agencies are deciding upon some course of action Indian youth are falling further behind in almost all aspects of formal education provided by standard public schools.

In some cases these same students are made to feel ashamed of going to public schools, since it is a wide spread belief that Indians don't pay taxes. When in many cases Indian youth actually bring into public schools, two and three times the amount of money of non-Indians--through Federal aid, plus, the fact that Indians pay all sales taxes and other levies, apart from property taxes, which contribute to state education revenue.

If Indian students are to receive a fair shake in public schools, both the state and Federal governments must make some drastic changes. States applying for Johnson O'Malley and other funds should be required to submit a definite plan for meeting the needs of its Indian students. Federal agencies on the other hand must monitor and audit these funds, and where states are found at fault, they should stop all grants until the states at fault meet the required regulations.

One major change that should take place immediately is that Indians should be involved in the planning, executing, and evaluating of Johnson O'Malley programs. State and local district's Johnson O'Malley plans should be subject to the approval of the Indian participants.

In many school districts, Indian children are a majority of the school enrollment, but their parents have no power to influence educational decisions. In these cases, Indian parents should take control

of these existing institutions by running candidates for the school boards, and moving polling places into Indian communities, registering voters and demanding their constitutional right to vote in all elections.

The name of the game is "self-determination" and if Indian people are to ever gain control of their destiny, they must gain control of the agencies that control their lives--schools, medical facilities, reservations, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

XIII. Public Schools Have Failed Indians

The contemporary history of Indian children attending public schools goes back to the 1890s, when Congress appropriated funds to cover the costs of tuition for Indians attending public schools. The purpose of this legislation appeared to be twofold. First, it gave legislative authority to the policy of integrating Indians into the White culture, thus establishing the goal of assimilation, and the public schools as the vehicle for attaining that goal. Second it established the precedent of providing subsidies to public schools in order to get them to assume responsibility for Indian education.

The Federal subsidy was necessary, both because there was a reluctance on the part of Indians to enter the schools, and because the school districts were reluctant to assume the extra costs (in many cases Indians lived on tax exempt land) and problems anticipated with Indian students.

This subsidizing approach was formalized in 1934, with the passage of the Johnson O'Malley Act, which permitted the Bureau of Indian Affairs to contract with states to provide for the education of Indian students. Then in the 1950s Congress passed two additional laws, Public Laws 874 and 815 (Impact Aid) which became known as the Federally

impacted areas legislation. There are two categories of Impact Aid assistance: P.L. 874 provides funds to local school districts for general operating expenses in lieu of local taxes, and P.L. 815 which provides funds for school construction in districts where there are Federally connected children.[71]

In 1965, an additional source of Federal Aid was added when Congress established Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provided money to school districts with high concentrations of low income children, of which almost all Indian children qualify.

The fact that a school district receives Federal funds to aid Indian children does not mean that Indians necessarily get their fair share of that money or of the district's total revenue. According to the report, "An Even Change," put out by the NAACP and the Harvard Center for Law and Education, these Federal funds are widely misused and rarely benefit Indians. Violations of these funds are so universal that it is impossible to list all of them. In almost no public school district surveyed did Indian children receive anything extra, or supplementary to the regular school program. The funds were found to be used on the "wrong children, in the wrong schools," on programs which are not supplemental and which do not meet the special needs of Indian children.[72]

A. Misconceptions, Stereotypes, and Discrimination

One of the major problems Indian students face when they enter public schools is discrimination. There is an anti-Indian attitude in many White communities near reservations that has existed for generations, and contemporary legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, will not erase the years of hatred and indifference. Though schools have opened their doors to Indians and other minorities, racial

hostility is still there, and only time and proper education will cure this sickness.

Superior Court Judge Robert L. Winslow of Ukiah, California told the Senate Subcommittee that in Mendocino County, California, there was a "common feeling that Indians are inferior to non-Indians." A study of Indian-White relations in Ukiah said that Whites generally looked upon Pomo Indians as "lazy, shiftless, dirty, biologically and culturally inferior. A Pomo Indian testified, "Some think the Indian is not very much or probably not even human." Another study made in the Southwest, found that many people looked upon the Apaches as "lazy, dumb, hostile, and mean."[73]

Textbook studies by a number of states indicate that misconceptions, myths, inaccuracies and stereotypes about Indians are common to the curriculum of most schools. The University of Idaho found Indians continually depicted as inarticulate, backward, unable to adjust to modern Euro-American culture, sly, vicious, barbaric, superstitious and destined to extinction. Minnesota has for years been using an elementary school social studies text which depicts Indians as lazy, savages incapable of doing little more than hunting, fishing, and harvesting wild rice.

While visiting the public schools serving Indian students on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy asked if the school had any books about Indians. After a frantic search in the back closet of the school's library a school administrator came running up to the Senator with his find. It was a book entitled "Captive of the Delawares," which had a cover picture of a White child being scalped by an Indian. When the Senator later inquired whether the culture and traditions of the Indians there were included in the school's curriculum, he was informed that "there isn't any history to this tribe."[74]

In a hard hitting report published by the Carnegie foundation, the relationship between Indians and the White power structure was described as "one of the most crucial problems in the education of Indian children." The report continued: "This relationship frequently demeans Indians, destroys their self-respect and self-confidence, develops or encourages apathy, and a sense of alienation from the educational process, and deprives them of an opportunity to develop the ability and experience to control their own affairs through participation in effective local government.

The Carnegie report cited an example of the problems Indian parents face in dealing with the power structure. Indians were trying to get a course in Ponca history and culture included in the curriculum of their all Indian public school. The superintendent's response to their request is explained in the Carnegie report:

> He had reviewed the schedule and found that if the course was taught, the children would be deprived of 54 hours of subjects they needed, such as math, English, science, and so forth. Further, he said, the teachers were doing very well in incorporating Indian culture into their teaching. Besides, he didn't see the value because this was "a competitive world and their culture was going to be lost anyway and they would be better off in the long run if they knew less of it." He also said that many felt the theme of the course would be to "teach the children to hate White people.75

The principal of a Chinle, Arizona public school had similar feelings about the teaching of Navajo culture in his school. He told an Office of Economic Opportunity evaluating team that he considered it "not American" to help any "faction" prepetuate its way of life. He felt the Rough Rock Demonstration School, with its emphasis on the Navajo culture, was a "backward step," and that the country had never moved ahead by "catering" to ethnic groups.

One outcome of the Indians' powerlessness and the atmosphere of the White community in which Indians attend school is discrimination within the public schools. Indian students on the Muckleshoot Reservation in

western Washington, for example, were automatically retained an extra year in the first grade of their public school. School officials felt that, for the Indians, the first year should be a non-academic, socializing experience. The Nooksack Indians of western Washington, were automatically placed in a class of slow learners without achievement testing.

In a report published by Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, they quote an Oklahoma principal as saying, "To tell the truth, our Indians are even worse than our coloreds and the best you can do is just leave them alone." The report concludes that "in general, the teachers and administrators in the schools of northwest Oklahoma seem incapable of treating the Indian students as sensitive human beings with the same needs and desires that non-Indian people have."[76]

B. The Language Conflict

Language is another area in which the Indian is discriminated against in school. The Bureau of Indian Affairs contends that one-half to two-thirds of Indian children enter school with little or no skill in the English language. Dr. B. Gaarder of the U. S. Office of Education estimated that more than half of the Indians in the United States between the ages of 6 to 18 use their native tongues. Unfamiliarity with the language of the classroom becomes a tremendous handicap for the Indian student, and records indicate he immediately falls behind his non-Indian classmates. Most public school teachers are not trained to teach English as a second language. The student's position is complicated by the insistence of teachers, who have no understanding of Indian cultures, that he disregard the language spoken by his parents at home.[77]

The Indian thus feels like an alien in a strange country. And the school feels it is its responsibility not just to teach skills, but to impress the "alien" Indian with the values of the dominant culture. Teachers, textbooks, and curriculums, therefore, are programmed to bring about the adoption of such values of American life as competitiveness, acquisition, rugged individualism, and success. But for the Indian whose culture is oriented to completely different values, the school becomes a source of much conflict and tension.

Condemned for his language and his culture, berated because his values aren't those of his teacher, treated demeaningly simply because he is Indian, the Indian student begins asking himself if he really isn't inferior. He becomes the object of a self-fulfilling prophecy which says "Indians are no good." Dr. Brewton Berry explains it thus:

> The theory is that if teachers and other members of the dominant group are convinced that the Indian is innately inferior and incapable of learning, such attitudes will be conveyed in various and subtle ways, a child will come to think of himself in the negative way and set for himself lower standards of effort, achievement, and ambition. Thus the teacher's expectation and prediction that her Indian pupils will do poorly in school, and in later life become major factors in guaranteeing the accuracy of her prediction.78

Study after study confirms this is exactly what the dominant society, and the dominant school society is doing. Study after study shows Indian children growing up with attitudes and feelings of alienation, hopelessness, powerlessness, rejection, depression, anxiety, estrangement, and frustration. Few studies, if any, show the public schools doing anything to change this pattern. The public school becomes a place of discomfort for the Indian student, a place to leave when he becomes 15 or 16.

Public schools which have been educating Indians for some time reveal by their statistics their failure in educating Indians.

1. The dropout rates for Indians who attend public schools in Klamath, Oregon is 90 percent.

2. 87 percent dropout rate by the 6th grade at an all Indian public elementary school near Ponca City, Oklahoma.

3. 90 percent dropout rate in Nome, Alaska, public schools, with about one-fourth of the students taking two to three years to get through the first grade.

4. 62 percent Indian dropout rate in Minneapolis public schools; between 45 and 75 percent statewide Indian dropout rate.

5. 70 percent Indian dropout rate in parts of California.

6. A public school district in western Oklahoma with a 25 percent Indian enrollment has been educating Indians for 40 years. During this time, 11 Indians have stayed in school long enough to graduate.

7. 21 of 28 Indian students in a Washington 8th grade were non-readers; one-third of the 123 Yakima Indians enrolled in the 8th grade of a Washington public school were reading two to six grades below the medianlevel; 70 percent Indian dropout rate; average grade was "D" for the Indian senior high students in public school serving Yakima Indians.

8. 80 percent of the 74 Indian students who entered school in three Idaho public school districts in 1956 dropped out of school before their class graduated. A 1968 study of graduates and dropouts of Lothrop High School in Fairbanks showed a 75 percent dropout rate among native students.79

XIV. Special Subcommittee Hearings On Indian Education

1967-8-9. United States Senate

In 1967, the United States Senate launched one of the most comprehensive investigations into Indian education ever conducted. The expressed duties of this Special Senate Subcommittee were to "examine, investigate, and make a complete study of and all matters pertaining to the education of Indian children." Selected to head this Senate investigative committee was the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

This monumental task lasted for approximately two years, during which time the committee members and staff visited Indian schools,

communities, and reservations. Fourteen states with a majority of the Indian population were visited and public hearings were held on ten different occasions throughout the United States.

The work of this committee filled some 4,077 pages in seven volumes of hearings and 450 pages in five volumes of committee prints. This marvelous report revealed some of the most shocking statistics on Indian education, health, and general welfare ever produced. It reveals a tragic story of some three hundred years of failure, neglect, and broken promises, which has left the American Indians in a grinding state of poverty. The statistics listed below tell of part of this story:

1. Dropout rates are twice the national average in both public and Federal schools. Some school districts have dropout rates approaching 100 percent;

2. Achievement levels of Indian children are 2 to 3 years below those of White students; and the Indian child falls progressively further behind the longer he stays in school;

3. Only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary schools have Indian teachers or principals;

4. One-fourth of elementary and secondary school teachers -- by their own admission -- would prefer not to teach Indian children;

5. Fifty thousand Indian families live in unsanitary dilapidated dwellings, many in huts, shanties, even abandoned automobiles;

6. The average age of death of the American Indian is 44 years; for all other Americans it is 65;

7. The infant mortality rate for Indians is twice the national average;

8. Indian children, more than any other minority group believe themselves to be "below average" in intelligence.80

A. Senator Robert F. Kennedy

The following statement was given by the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy in his opening address at the committee's first hearing in

1967. In this statement Senator Kennedy remarked, "the few statistics we have are the most eloquent evidence of our own failure." With this he continued:

1. Approximately 16,000 Indian children are not in school at all;
2. The average education level for all Indians under Federal supervision is 5 years;
3. Indian children in the 12th grade have the poorest self-concept of all minority groups tested;
4. The average Indian income is $1,500 per year -- 75 percent below the national average;
5. His unemployment rate is 10 times the national average.

Citing these statistics and others, Senator Kennedy continued with the following eloquent statement:

> These facts are the cold statistics which illuminate a national tragedy and a national disgrace. They demonstrate that the "First American" had become the last American with the opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a fulfilling and rewarding life.
> This subcommittee does not expect to unveil any quick and easy answers to this dilemma. But clearly, effective education lies at the heart of any lasting solution. And it must be an education that no longer presumes that cultural differences mean cultural inferiorty.81

B. Indian Schools are Shocking

In its investigation of "any and all maters pertaining to the education of Indian children" the subcommittee was shocked with the conditions they found in Indian schools. The results are best described in the following statement:

> What concerned us most deeply, as we carried out our mandate, was the low quality of virtually every aspect of the schooling available to the Indian children. The school buildings themselves; the course materials and books; the attitude of teachers and administrative personnel; the accessibility of school buildings -- all these are shocking quality.82

In providing further evidence of the magnitude of the problems and conditions found in schools Indians attend, the statistics listed

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below are a major indictment in themselves:

1. Fourty thousand Navajo Indians, nearly a third of the entire tribe are functional illiterates in English;

2. More than one out of every five Indian men have less than 5 years of schooling;

3. In New Mexico, some Indian high school students walk 2 miles to the bus every day and then ride 50 miles to school:

4. The average age of top level BIA education administrators is 58 years;

5. In 1953, the BIA began a crash program to improve education for Navajo children. Between then and 1967, supervisory positions in BIA headquarters increased 113 percent; supervisory positions in BIA schools increased 144 percent; administrative and clerical positions in the BIA schools increased 94 percent. Yet, teaching positions increased only 20 percent.

6. In one school in Oklahoma the student body is 100 percent Indian; yet it is controlled by a three-man, non-Indian school board.

7. Only 18 percent of the students in Federal Indian schools go on to college; the national average is 50 percent;

8. The BIA spends only $18 per year per child on textbooks and supplies, compared to a national average of $40;

9. Only one of every 100 Indian college graduates will receive a masters degree.

10. Thousands of Indians have migrated into cities only to find themselves untrained for jobs and unprepared for urban life. Many of them return to the reservation more disillusioned and defeated than when they left.83

C. Elementary Boarding Schools

In carrying out their investigation of Indian schools the subcommittee was dismayed at the boarding school system of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, especially the elementary boarding schools, which were described as "barbaric and cruel."

The subcommittee found that some 7,476 Navajo children, ages 9 and under were in 48 elementary boarding schools, on the Navajo Reservation alone. Although there are special social and educational

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reasons for placing children in boarding schools. In this case it was simply a matter of not having a day school available. Yet it was later discovered that approximately two-thirds of the children lived within 25 miles or less from the schools they attend, and 90 percent lived within 50 miles or less.

Many authorities in the field of mental health have gone on record against the practice of placing Indian children in elementary boarding schools. One such authority was Daniel J. O'Connell, M.D., executive secretary of National Committee on Indian Health, and the Association of American Indian Affairs who stated, "the placement of children of this age group in boarding schools is not only destructive, but led to emotional damage within the children. Dr. O'Connell further stated:

> There is almost universal agreement in the field of developmental psychology that early separation of a child from the family unit is a destructive influence. In addition, the point was made that extended family relationships are more complex and important to an Indian child than a White child and crucial to his development of a sense of identity. Thus, separation from the family is probably even more traumatic and emotionally destructive. The elementary boarding schools on the Navajo Reservation are totally inadequate as a substitute for parents and family. Even with very substantial improvements, they can never be an adequate or desirable substitute.84

During the subcommittee hearing in 1968, additional information against the practice of placing Indian children in boarding schools was given by two psychiatrists, Dr. Karl Menninger and Dr. Robert Leon. Both of these authorities testified that elementary boarding schools were destructive and should be abolished. Dr. Robert Bergman, the psychiatrist then serving on the Navajo reservation, also pointed out that "boarding schools have a negative effect on the Navajo family and social structure as well as on the children. Dr. Bergman continued with:

Among the young adults who are the first generation of Navajo in which the majority went to school, there are many severe problems. The problems that occur with excessive frequency are ones involving the breakdown of social control; drunkenness, child neglect, and drunken and reckless driving. Alarming numbers of people have lapsed into an alienated, apathetic life marked by episodes of delinquency and irresponsibility.85

1. Off-Reservation Boarding Schools

In 1968, the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained approximately 77 boarding schools of which 19 were off-reservation, with an enrollment of some 12,000 Indian students. The criteria used by the BIA in deciding who shall be admitted to off-reservation boarding schools falls in two areas:

Education Criteria

a. Those for whom a public or Federal day school is not available;

b. Those who need special vocational or preparatory courses not available to them locally;

c. Those retarded scholastically 3 or more years or those having pronounced bilingual difficulties.

Social Criteria

a. Those who are rejected or neglected for whom no suitable plan can be made;

b. Those who belong to large families with no suitable home and whose separation from each other is undesirable;

c. Those whose behavior problems are too difficult for solution by their families or through existing community facilities;

d. Those whose health or proper care is jeopardized by illness of other members of the household.

The determination of "eligibility" of students enrolled under one of the social criteria is made by Bureau social workers on the student's reservation. Although parental approval and approval of the reservation superintendent are also required, social workers usually initiate the application process, and are the primary decision agents.

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During the study of off-reservation boarding schools the subcommittee

members and staff visited 13 of the 19 schools. A complete evaluation was then prepared and submitted into the Senate records. The results of these evaluations make one thing perfectly clear, a majority of the off-reservation boarding school students are there because of "special social and emotional problems." As an example:

> At the Albuquerque Indian School for instance 50 percent of the students were enrolled under the social criteria; at Busby, 98 percent; Chilocco, 75 percent; Flandreau, 90 percent; and Stewart, 80 percent. This is even more amazing when you consider that the BIA estimates that at least 25 percent of the students in these schools are public school dropouts (or pushouts). Others have accepted boarding school placements as an alternative to reformatories. And many move from school to school year after year until they are old enough to dropout.87

The constant movement of students from school to school has had a telling effect on all concerned, the students, the administration, the staff, and the teachers. These effects are illuminated in the following reports on Indian schools visited by the subcommittee members. The Bureau's Intermountain evaluation, for example states:

> Intermountain Indian School
>
> A decision needs to be made about the direction of the school and the type of students it will serve. At present, Intermountain School has such a varied student body that it is impossible for the present staff and faculty to meet all needs for all students. And, again we heard the comment, we do not know what our mission is, are we going to serve as a dumping ground for youngsters the reservation schools do not want, do we operate a vocational high school with some terminal training, or do we operate a comprehensive high school program?88

The report on Flandreau Indian School was equally distressing, the report quotes the principal as saying that he is not sure anyone knows or agrees upon the goals of the school. To the agency social worker and the superintendent, Flandreau is a "dumping ground." The principal stated:

> Flandreau Indian School
>
> Students come for social reasons, but the staffing hasn't changed one bit to meet the social reasons...We talk social problems, yet respond in an academic manner.

The subcommittee's report on Phoenix Indian school was equally revealing, and is possibly the best example of how and why boarding schools fail to teach Indian children:

Phoenix Indian School

> Out of an enrollment of approximately 1,000 students, over 200 come from broken homes. Five hundred and eighty students are considered academically retarded. There are at least 60 students enrolled where there exists a serious family drinking problem. From September to December of 1967, there were 16 reported cases of serious glue sniffing. The school is often pressured into accepting students with a history of juvenile delinquency and overt emotional disturbance. With this great change in the profile of the student body there has not been a concomitant change in staffing skilled workers or in training existing personnel to cope with these problems.89

The results of the subcommittee investigation's among the off-reservation boarding schools is not only revealing, but extremely tragic. Indian children are sent hundreds of miles away to alien institutions, in many cases, against their will, only to find themselves in a web of confusion, which only adds to their many problems. The evaluation report on Busby Indian School is a classic example of what is wrong with Federal schools for Indian children. The subcommittee report reads as follows:

Busby Indian School

> It is not doing any kind of a job of rehabilitating the misfit children in its boarding school program; but then it was not designed, funded or staffed as a mental health clinic. The Busby school, both day and boarding, seem to be operating primarily as a custodial institution, designed and functioning to give Indian children something apparently relevant to do until they are 18 years old while creating a minimum of anxiety for all concerned --pupils, parents, and staff.90

D. ABT Associates, Inc., (A Study of Federal Schools)

One of the most interesting features to come out of the Senate hearings on Indian education was a comprehensive study of Federal school conducted by a private organization called ABT Associates,Inc.

In 1967, as a result of the subcommittee's urging the Bureau of Indian Affairs contracted with ABT Associates to provide a thorough study and evaluation of Federal schools for Indians. The study lasted for approximately one year, during which time more than 20 professionals conducted extensive field investigations into some 300 classrooms, where educational objectives and instructional practices were observed and evaluated. The ABT study provided both a revealing and discouraging description of the serious inadequacies of the BIA educational system and confirmed many of the same findings of the subcommittee investigations.

1. Student Goals and Teacher Expectations

One of the more important findings of the ABT study was the dramatic disparity between the educational goals of the students and the expectations of the teachers and administrators. This is particularly important because education research has demonstrated that teacher expectations have an important effect on student achievement. The self-fulfilling prophecy of failure seems to be a pervasive element in BIA schools.

The study found that three-fourths of the Indian students wanted to go to college. Most of the students had a reasonable understanding of what college work entailed and 3 percent desired graduate studies above the bachelor's degree level. According to the study core courses such as English, mathematics and science were definitely desired by the students.

In contrast to the student goals, however, were those of teachers and administrators. When asked to name the most important things the schools should do for the students, only about one-tenth of the teachers mentioned academic achievement as an important goal. To the

teachers the main educational objectives were "personality development, socialization, and citizenship.

The study reported a serious lack of communication between the students and staff, and interaction between the two groups was almost non-existent.

The major goal of the BIA educational system, according to the report, appears to be relocation into the urban areas while at the same time it fails to adequately prepare students academically, socially, psychologically, or vocationally for urban life. As a result, many return to the reservation disillusioned, to spend the rest of their lives in economic and intellectual stagnation. The study notes that "the common social problems of family instability, poor health, inadequate housing, alcoholism, and underemployment is today almost unaffected by educational programs."[92]

XV. The Failure of Federal Schools

Part I: Historial Development

The first treaty providing for any form of education for Indians was that concluded in 1794 with the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridge[93] -- tribes which had fought with the Americans during the Revolution. The terms of this treaty called for the training of some of the young Indian men "in the arts of the miller and sawyer." This was actually the start of Federal responsibility for the education of American Indians. Thereafter, similar provisions were included in many of the (nearly 400) treaties signed between the United States and Indian tribes.

However, the basis for most Indian education programs started in 1819, with the inception of the "Civilization Fund," which provided

an annual appropriation of $10,000 to be used for the education of frontier tribes. The President was authorized to appoint instructors in agriculture, and teachers for the children, and the missionaries were to continue their work in academic and practical training.

A. The First System of Indian Schools

The first system of boarding and day schools to be proposed was submitted to the government in 1820, by the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. (The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was an inter-denominational organization composed of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed Churches).

A total of seventeen thousand dollars was set aside for the construction and equipment of schools among the Choctaws, and six thousand dollars were made available annually for their maintenance. The plan called for a total of thirty-two day and four boarding schools to be opened. Three boarding schools and twenty-four day schools were to be located east of the Mississippi River, and the remaining west of it. Missions were also established in 1820 and 1821 west of the Mississippi River by the American Board among the Cherokee; and by the United Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church at Harmony, Missouri, and at Union, in Indian Territory among the Osage Indians.[94]

In 1825, the newly created Bureau of Indian Affairs issued a report that all Indian schools receiving Federal aid were to be located among the frontier tribes, and were to be conducted by missioners. Instruction in the industrial arts and academic subjects were compulsory. The report also stated schools would be required to submit

annual reports that would serve as a supervisory devise to guarantee government standards and insure fair prorating of future funds.[95]

In 1832, Congress established the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs and thereafter the responsibility of Indian education was placed in his hands. Gradually as the westward expansion policy of the Federal government pushed further and further into Indian country, the BIA began to assume more responsibility for the education of Indians. As early as 1838, for example the government was operating 16 manual schools serving some 800 students and 87 boarding schools serving about 2,900 students.[96]

1. The First Reservation Boarding School

The first reservation boarding school was opened on the Yakima Reservation in 1860. The site was the abandoned barracks at Fort Simco, in Washington Territory. There were eight large buildings, a large corral, stables, and lesser buildings which had originally cost about eighty thousand dollars.[97]

2. The First Contract School

In the early 1800s contract schools were principally mission schools that were subsidized by the Federal government, and served during the time when the government was not prepared to take over responsibility of Indian education which it had assumed. Many years passed between 1870, when the first annual appropriation was made for Indian education and the time when the government had adequate personnel, administrative service, and buildings of its own for Indian schools.

However, the first contract school was opened September 12, 1869, on the Tulalip Reservation in Washington Territory under the direction of the Reverend Father C. C. Chirouse, whose staff consisted of two male assistants and three Sisters of Charity. Approximately fifty boarding -

pupils were instructed in religion, academic subjects, and industry. The Federal contract system was abolished by law in 1897, but due to pressure from tribal groups it was resumed in 1905 and still continues.[98]

3. The First Off-Reservation Boarding School

In 1879, the government established Carlisle Institute, the first Federal "off-reservation" boarding school for Indians in the United States. The curriculum at Carlisle emphasized both academic and manual (i.e. industrial) education. Its philosophy included the removal of the student from their homes, strict military discipline, a work and study program, and an "outing system." The off-reservation boarding school, exemplified at Carlisle, dominated the approach to Indian education for the next fifty years. Even today, in 1973, there are still 19 of these off-reservation boarding schools, using virtually the same teaching methods with virtually the same philosophy.[99]

4. The First Superintendent of Schools

In 1881, the government attempted to enroll Indian students in land grant colleges to provide industrial training as well as academic instruction. When this venture proved impossible, the plan to convert abandoned military barracks into Indian schools was proposed. As a result of this move, legislation was passed in 1882 granting to the Indian Service the use of buildings at Fort Hall in Idaho; Cantonment, in Indian Territory; Fort Ripley in Minnesota, and Fort Stevenson in the Dakotas.

With this added growth in the Indian education program and the increase in Federal appropriations, authorities began to call for a centralized administration of education. As a result, J. M. Haworth was appointed the first Superintendent of Indian schools in 1885. However, Inspector Haworth succumbed to a critical illness after only a few

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months in office and John H. Oberly became his successor.

Superintendent Oberly in 1885 presented the first comprehensive discussion of Federal Indian education in his annual report. In this report, Oberly called for uniform textbooks, and teaching methods. He also asked for a system of uniform school buildings in place of the abandoned barracks, sheds, warehouses, and other undesirable quarters that were being used to house Indian students. He further observed that Indian education had evolved without centralized direction, the Federal administrative service had been inadequate, and the Indian agents were not qualified to serve in the field of education. While in office Superintendent Oberly took further steps to improve Indian education by proposing the "merit system" for appointment of school personnel. He later prepared a statistical card requiring applicants for appointment in Indian schools to state whether they were graduates of an educational institution, held a teacher's certificate, or had received other formal training of a similar nature.[100]

5. The First Official Field Report

In 1889, Daniel Dorchester was appointed Superintendent of Indian schools along with his wife who was appointed Special Agent in the Indian School Service. The Dorchester's traveled six thousand miles in two months in 1889 while compiling the first comprehensive official field report on Indian education. The joint report disclosed that twelve schools out of twenty had never been visited by an Indian office representative; that many teachers were incompetent; there were no assembly rooms for the students; the provisions for health, sanitation, and recreation needed vast improvements, and among the supplies in commissaries there were in one school pins enough to last a hundred years, and flat irons for a generation, and in another school there

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were forty-two overcoats which no boy could wear.

The following year, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan made the second tour of inspection and compiled a similar report. As a result of the two tours Indian education took an upswing for the better and the following measures were instituted:

a. In 1890, the first Field Supervisor of Indian education was appointed;

b. The Codification of Rules for Indian schools was established in 1890. This measure dealt with the "aims and administration of schools, and the appointment, removal, promotion, and duties of personnel;

c. In 1890, a course of study and list of textbooks were appended to the Indian school Service. Enrollment was limited to those Indians between the ages of five and eighteen whose families lived on reservations;

d. Civil Service was introduced into the Indian Service in 1892, however, it was not until 1896 that all employees of Indian agencies and all school employees except agents, day laborers and the personnel of the Civilized Tribes were included.

e. Compulsory attendance was also instituted in the Indian education system in 1893. According to this measure, the agent was responsibile for keeping the schools filled by persuasion if possible, by withholding rations or annuities from parents, and by other measures if necessary. Disciplinary measures were severe. Pupils over 12 years of age who were guilty of extreme misbehavior might either receive corporal punishment or be imprisoned in the guardhouse. It was not until 1927, that school jails were abolished. (In the latter part of 1893, the responsibility for keeping Indian children in school was taken from agents and placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior.)101

The early 1900s brought additional changes to Indian education that gradually laid the groundwork for the ultimate regimentation of Indian schools. In 1910, for instance, the government issued a Manual outlining the full course of study for all Indian schools. This directive was to be strictly followed, unless otherwise changed by the Commissioner.[102]

In 1916, the first uniform course of study was adopted in government schools; this incorporated public school curricula into the Indian schools. This in turn increased the enrollment of Indian children

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in public schools, and within some four years more Indians were enrolled in public schools than in government schools. This was partially brought about by limiting government school enrollment to children under Federal supervision. A law passed in 1914 denied enrollment in government schools to children of less than one-fourth Indian blood, except those entitled to treaty or trust fund benefits. This law was later amended in 1918, to include those children of less than one-fourth Indian blood who were without school facilities, who were in poor physical condition, or whose parents were unable to pay tuition.[103]

Indian education at this time closely followed the development of the public school system, with one major exception, "there was absolutely no relationship to the needs of the Indian people." By the end of the First World War, Indian schools had decreased in number and declined in quality (if that was possible). From 1910 to 1920, there was a loss of thirty-eight schools including twenty-three day schools, and enrollment had dropped one-fourth. Public schools had absorbed some of the loss, but there never had been enough schools to accomodate all eligible Indian children.[104]

In the post-war period after World War I, public sentiment was aroused in the direction of human interest and public welfare. Reform groups were calling for a series of sweeping changes in "health, education, and welfare." These developments in turn had an important bearing on the sad state of affairs of Indian people, and the reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. As an outgrowth of this sudden interest in Indian affairs, three major reform movements were to take place within the Indian world in the next ten years. The Report of the Committee of One Hundred appeared in 1924, the Meriam Report was published in 1928, and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

6. The Committee of One Hundred

The first period of reform started in 1923 when an advisory council of one hundred public spirited citizens met in Washington to consider ways of improving Indian Affairs. The following year, the Committee of One Hundred as they were called recommended some sweeping changes to bring about adequate improvement. Some of the changes recommended were: Increased Federal appropriations for the appointment of competent personnel, provision of adequate school facilities, increased Indian enrollment in public schools, and scholarships in high schools and colleges for Indian students.

Following the report of the Committee of One Hundred in 1924, government schools were reorganized to offer more advanced instruction. Day schools were extended to include six grades, reservation schools were to include eight grades, and non-reservation boarding schools were to include high school work. In 1921, Haskell Institute was the only government school offering work above the eighth grade. But, by 1925, three other schools were offering high school courses, and by 1929, the number had risen to six.

In order to bring more Indian children into the schools both public and Federal, the government passed legislation in 1929, requiring Indian children who were not under government supervision to attend public schools in accordance with state laws; and state school officials were authorized to enter Indian-occupied lands to enforce the measure.

In the interest of time, space, and repetition the next periods of reform, "The Meriam Report of 1928, and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934," will not be covered in this section of the paper, since they have been given ample coverage on previous pages.

Using the foregoing material as a point of reference in the historical development of the Federal school system for Indians, let us now embark on the original purpose of this paper -- viz., an evaluation of contemporary Federal schools for Indian children.

XVI. The Failure of Federal Schools

Part II: An Evaluation

Since 1794, the primary responsibility for the education of American Indians has been in the hands of the Federal government, basically the "Bureau of Indian Affairs." Of the 197,211 Indian children currently enrolled in public, private, mission, and Federal schools approximately one-third or 57,788 are in Federally operated institutions. The nature of these government schools is very diverse, ranging from temporary trailers on the Navajo reservation to large off-reservation boarding schools, which sometimes house more than 1,000 students each.

According to statistics published by the Interior Department in 1972, the Bureau of Indian Affairs operates 78 boarding schools and 119 day schools. There are 36,407 school age Indian children in these boarding schools, 17,239 in the day schools, and over 4,025 housed in peripheral dormitories while attending public schools with BIA support. Nearly 9,000 of the boarding school children are under 9 years of age.[106]

In addition, 87,080 Indian children attend public schools supported by the Johnson O'Malley Act which is administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[107]

In 1968, in response to a mandate by former President Johnson, the BIA implemented a kindergarten program. As a result of this, in 1972 the Bureau was operating 89 schools (34 boarding and 55 day schools)

with an enrollment of 2,522 children. All kindergarten pupils attend on a day basis and constitute approximately 4.7 percent of the total enrollment. It is interesting to note that although kindergarten programs have been around for over a hundred years, it wasn't until 1968 that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had progressed to the point of instituting one, and then it took a mandate from the President to get it going.[108]

In the fiscal year 1972, Interior Department statistics show that of some 213,245 Indian students between the ages of 5 to 18 approximately 9,119 children are not in school. This figure is even more surprising when you consider that the BIA does not know the wereabouts of 6,915 of these students -- according to their records they have vanished.[109]

The problem faced by American Indians in formal institutions of learning (public, private, or Federal) can best be described as many, varied, and extremely complex. However, in this section of the paper we will analyze only those problems found in government schools. Federal schools for Indians have a long history of inadequate budgets, dilapidated buildings, incompetent administrators, untrained teachers and a burning desire to remake Indians into White men.

From the first treaty calling for education in 1779, Indian education has followed a blighted path of failure and neglect. The United States seems to look upon Indian education as a treaty obligation to be fulfilled merely by supplying "X" amount of schools and teachers to the different tribes across the nation. It was assumed that Indians would naturally adapt themselves to the situation and strive for upward social mobility, and eventually assimilate into the dominant White society surrounding them on all quarters.

Educators, especially those employed by the Bureau of Indian

Affairs seem to operate in a mythical world created by the nature of their own middle-class contracts and stereotypes. Having little to do with Indians generally, they assume that the possession of White middle-class values will in effect function successfully everywhere, and at all levels of life. They seem so obsessed with themselves that they fail to realize that their culture is not only alien, but in many cases irrelevant to the needs of Indian people.

If Indian education is ever to be a success, it must be controlled and directed by Indian people, it must also evolve from the needs and desires of Indian people. Above all else, it must be designed to facilitate the progress of Indian people economically and socially, on the reservation and in the urban areas.

In summarizing this paper and the history of Indian education, most of the problems uncovered seem to revolve around five areas in which the failures are the most glaring:

1. Teacher and administrator competence
2. The culture conflict
3. The language conflict
4. The boarding schools
5. Lack of parental involvement

A. Teacher and Administrator Competence

In the academic career of the Indian student the teacher plays a very important role. This role is not as important as that of the parents and peer groups, but it is nevertheless of genuine significance. For this reason we should examine the literature on the competence of teachers past and present who teach our Indian youth. As mentioned earlier, one of the most competent and explosive studies in this realm is the Meriam Report, which stated:

After all is said that can be said about the skill and devotion

of some employees, the fact remains that the government regularly takes into the instructional staff of its Indian schools teachers whose credentials would not be accepted in good public school systems."

The report goes on to deplore the meager salaries, the high turnover rate, the low standards, the poor working conditions, and unsatisfactory personnel policies faced by teachers in this field and makes this devastating criticism: "The government is attempting to do a highly technical job with untrained, and to a certain extent, uneducated people."[110]

Along these same lines, the 1966 President's Task Force on American Indians reported "too many BIA employees were simply time servers of mediocre or poor competence, who remained indefinitely because they were willing to serve in unattractive positions at low rates of pay for long periods of time."[111]

However, surprisingly enough there are some able and dedicated teachers in the Bureau schools. But the system is stacked against them. The decision making process has been virtually reduced to mechanical rule-following, with little opportunity for new and innovative changes. The omnipresent BIA Manual spells out in microscopic detail how each decision is to be made. It is no wonder that even the most dedicated teachers are deterred and defeated.

The dropout rate among Federal teachers or "turnover" if you wish, is double that of the national average, and to the Indian student the teacher is like a transient stranger passing through. Thus, the Indian students must suffer the consequences; instead of meeting the Indian student's special educational needs the BIA teachers who are left are often the most inadequate.

There is also considerable evidence of disinterest among the teachers of Indian students. HEW's 1966 Coleman Report, Equality of

Educational Opportunity, revealed that 25 percent of those persons teaching Indian students would prefer not to teach Indians.[112]

1. Quality of Instruction is Unsatisfactory

Research has shown that the basic causes of low achievement of Indian students are directly related to the quality and effectiveness of instruction of their teachers. This was thoroughly brought out and documented by the ABT Study of 1968, which revealed the unsatisfactory instruction provided by government teachers in Indian schools. Some of the basic causes of low achievement of Indian students according to the ABT Study were: (1) A great proportion of the teachers in the BIA system lack the training to teach pupils with the linguistic and economic disadvantages of Indian children. (2) Only a handful of the Bureau's teachers are themselves Indian. (3) Virtually no non-Indian teachers learn to speak an Indian language, nor are they given formal help to do so. (4) Many tend to take little interest in intellectual and artistic achievement, and therefore fail to stimulate the development of intellectual curiosity and creativity in their pupils. (5) The curriculum used in Bureau schools is generally inappropriate to the experience and needs of the students. (6) Vocational training courses bear little relation to existing job markets. (7) Teachers often blame their own failures on the students.[113]

2. Administrative Competence

The administrative competence is, if anything, even more discouraging, especially when one recalls the gauche statement of the Chilocco Boarding School Superintendent who replied "that he would build a jail and hire more guards,"[114] when asked what he would do if given more money. A survey by the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education of the ages and experience of BIA Education administrators revealed, "that the average

age at the top level (GS-15 and 14 Civil Service Ratings) is 58 years and the median years of Bureau experience is 27 years; and of other outside experience only 4 1/2 years." Youth is a rare commodity in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and marked inbreeding in this department is evidenced so far as job experience is concerned. 115 Promotion seems to be based exclusively on "time on the job," and there are few transfers from outside the Bureau structure. The results are a matter of public record, "lack of creativity, stagnation, and a system of Indian schools run by overage, non-Indian incompetents."

3. The BIA Personnel System

In evaluating the overall effectiveness of the BIA school system, the personnel department is one of the most crucial areas of concern. In any successful business or corporation, the personnel department plays a major role in the success or failure of that structure. Competent and innovative personnel are a must. But within the BIA educational system the personnel department is one of the major stumbling blocks in the path to success. Many of the present problems of incompetents, bigots, and malcontents could be eliminated by an effective personnel recruitment program. As it is now, the turnover rate is far too high and often the most ambitious and promising teachers leave the system first. The existing centralized system is not only cumbersome and ineffective, but controlled by non-Indian educators.

In addition, the civil service status of the BIA teachers and administrators has further hampered the overall progress of the government schools and plays a major part in the failure of this archaic bureaucracy. This particular area of concern was brought out in detail by the Senate Subcommittee in their summary of the BIA personnel system. According to the Senate Report, "the civil service status of

BIA teachers and staff has severe disadvantages." The report continued:

> It is very difficult to reward the outstanding teacher and even more difficult to fire the incompetent. It has been suggested that 'the teachers ability to rely on their civil service tenure militates against the total commitment needed from them.' They tend instead to provide a minimum of effort and time and 'take little interest in the problems of the school and community.' Also, the rigidity of the civil service system has made it difficult if not impossible to permit Indian tribes and communities some authority over teacher selection and training. Indian communities consider this to be the most critical aspect of their involvement in the school.116

Another report that was extremely critical of the BIA personnel system was the ABT Report, which stated:

> The systems of analysis of the BIA schools concludes that many of the problems of the schools are determined by forces beyond their control, the existing staff is inadequate, in quality and quantity, to deal with them effectively. BIA personnel from administrators to dormitory staff, frequently neglect their responsibilities and take no individual initiative, either from frustration or cynicism. Many of the most capable personnel resign from the system after a short term of service. A few dedicated persons continue to exert themselves, in the hope that some Indian children will benefit by their efforts.117

4. Organization and Administration

In describing the effectiveness of the BIA's organization and administrative policy in regard to Indian education, the following statement and list of criticisms by the Senate Subcommittee members was by far the most eloquent and revealing. According to the Report, "The present organization and administration of the BIA school system could hardly be worse." With this they listed the following criticisms:

a. Operationally, education is far from being BIA's highest priority, despite the fact that it expends more than 50 percent of the BIA budget. Land management appears to be the dominant concern and background of most administrators in the BIA hierarchy. Thus, non-educators make most of the important policy decisions regarding the education program. Funds slated for education frequently are siphoned into other areas.

b. There is a tremendous lack of reliable data about the BIA education program. There is no attempt made to relate educational

expenditures to educational results; nor are there well-specified educational goals, objectives or standards.

c. The BIA schools are organized as if the municipal water commissioner controlled a city's textbook budget, and the parks commissioner controlled the school's facilities, equipment, and personnel acquisitions, with the city school superintendent only an advisor to the mayor, yet responsible for the effective operations of the schools.

d. The present structure of BIA education not only serves to reward unaggressive behavior and docility but punishes, usually by transfer, those who persist in behaving like educational leaders.

e. It is impossible to conceive of change and improvement without a radical reorganization of the BIA school system.

B. Culture Conflict

When an Indian youth confronts the school system for the first time, he runs headlong into the values and expectations of White society. In the majority of cases, these values are directly contrary to those which he has been taught at home. The resulting conflict of cultures creates many psychological and adjustment problems for the child. To adjust to the demands and values of the school leads the child to alienation from his Indian home and community. To not adjust, exposes him to ridicule and abuse from his non-Indian teachers and administrators.

The resultant confusion and frustration arising from inner conflict is reflected in many ways; poor academic performance, high dropout rates, excessive drinking, suicides, and further alienation from the school.

In describing the culture conflict that Indian students face when they enter the school system, Dr. Robert Bergman a psychiatrist with the Division of Indian Health, reported one Navajo girls experience: "Her teacher one day was angry at the laziness of the class and said, 'If you want to live in a hogan for the rest of your life just don't

bother to study.' Since this girl definitely did want to live in a

hogan for the rest of her life, she left school."

When bombarded by such negative references and innuendos it doesn't take the average Indian very long to decide that his culture must be inferior to the predominant Whites. He soon identifies that general cultural inferiority with himself, as an individual, with his family and his community. Many experts in the field of mental behavior associate this feeling of cultural inferiority with the damaged self-concept the Indian student displays and his feelings of powerlessness.

Until teachers and others associated with Indian schools learn to accept Indians as individuals and assist them in their growth to Indian adulthood, we will continue to have these dangerous side-effects. School personnel must be taught the cultural values and home life of Indians and become involved in Indian communities where they teach and live. They need to assist Indian children in developing 'high occupational goals,' and to teach Indian children that a major purpose of education is self-development, and not just a means to a materially higher standard of living.

In 1966, a very interesting article appeared in the Saturday Review on the educational programs aimed at the "culturally different." In this article the author, Moshe Smilansky discussed the conditions needed for successful schools:

> The child must have a clear picture of the meaning of the school, and the home must give its support to the school. He goes on to add that: For the home to be able to give its support the school, the school must: (a) accept the home as a home; (b) try to understand and support its particular functions: (c) not try to change the home or to undermine it; and (d) seek a union with the home at the point of common concern - the successful progress of the child in school.120

Along the same lines, Dr. Jack Forbes a noted educator and historian wrote a similar article in the handbook, "Education of the Cultur-

ally Different - A Multi-Cultural Approach," Dr. Forbes wrote:

> School people in the United States, if they intend to deal successfully with education of the culturally different must abandon their irrelevant attack upon the culture of these populations. The function of our public schools should be to help individuals develop their own potentiality for self-realization and not to serve as an instrument for semi-coercive culture change. The educational goal and the culture change goal (assimilation) are fundamentally contradictory and antagonistic. To concentrate upon forcing change is to create the kind of withdrawal, hostility, and alienation described earlier, and learning of a desirable sort will usually cease.121

1. The Cross-Over Phenomenon

In the last few years educators have discovered a process of "withdrawal or lack of response" in Indian children around the 4th grade level. During these first four years of school, Indian children achieve on a level equivalent to other students. Thereafter, their achievement declines steadily up to and frequently through the college years. This phenomenon of gradual alienation or withdrawal is also experienced in other minority children, but tends to level off just before entry to senior high school.

James B. Conant in his work Slums and Suburbs, gives a good description of this withdrawal in other minority children, in which he quotes a teacher as saying, "We do quite well with the children in the lower grades, but when they reach about 10, 11, or 12 years of age, we lose them. At this time the street takes over, and progress ceases, and many pupils begin to go backward in their studies."[122]

Another study, by Madison Coombs, on Indian children discovered that: "Indian pupils compared much more favorably with White pupils in the elementary grades, and particularly in grade four, than in the junior and senior high school grades."[123] Murray Wax, in his study of the Sioux Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, found Indian children in the lower elementary grades "attentive, busy, and

happy," while those in the intermediate grades presented a sharp contrast and appeared to be "shy, withdrawn, stupid, and sullen."

J. F. Bryde gives the best explanation of the "cross-over phenomenon," when he says it is "psychological." Bryde believes alienation is the cause of the problem. Conflict between White and Indian cultures comes to a focus at adolescence and causes severe personality disturbances which block achievement. He further states:

> Indian pupils tend to be 'over-age,' and it may be that adolescence arrives during the intermediate elementary grades, bringing with it problems of identity, alienation, and negative self-feelings, which manifest themselves in low achievement.125

One thing is certain, as long as assimilation, whether partial or complete, remains part of the educational goal for Indians, this dangerous side-effect will remain, and Indian education will continue to flounder. Above all, any new programs designed to resolve problems of Indians must be designed and implemented in concert with Indian people who will be directly affected by them.

2. The System of Rewards and Punishments are Different

The system of rewards and punishments (values) in one society does not necessarily motivate people in another, and if non-Indians are going to motivate Indians -- maybe it's time they tried using the system of rewards and punishments in the Indian culture. At the present time the school system has not succeeded in educating the Indians and they have not made "White men" out of them. Perhaps it is time they realized this and tried changing their goals and the established methods of reaching these goals.

Instead of attacking the Indian culture and heritage, which has done nothing but alienate the Indians and resulted in poor self-images and low achievement among them -- educators should work toward the goal of producing a child that is proud of his Indian heritage and

culture, one who has a definite knowledge of his past, and yet comes equipped with the proper skills and education to compete in the dominate society.

C. The Language Barrier

One of the major obstacles to the Indian child's academic success is his unfamiliarity with the English language. A good indication of his problem area was revealed by William Kelley in his study of Indian children in New Mexico and Arizona where he studied some 56,000 Indian children of school age, he states: "Not one in a hundred starts school with a knowledge of English."[126] Another study by Murray Wax of the Pine Ridge Sioux in South Dakota offers the following: "Many know no English at all." Mr. Wax further states that, "those who come from conservative Indian homes show little inclination to use English in any context except the classroom or to develop any fluency in it."[127]

Willard Beatty, former Chief of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Education, wrote:

> More than half the children enrolling in Federal schools do not use English as a native language. More than 30 percent of the Indian children in public schools are bilingual. On the average, more than 15 percent of all Indian school children come from homes in which no English is spoken at all; therefore, English is a foreign language.128

Yet, when the child enters school he is expected to function in a totally English speaking environment.

Many Indian children struggle along in this educational void until they learn to assign meaning to the sounds the teacher makes, but by the time they begin to understand English, they have fallen well behind in all the basic skill areas. In fact, it appears that this language handicap increases as the Indian child moves through school, until he finally drops out or by some miracle becomes fluent in English.

The problem of teaching English has always been a concern of those who have worked among Indians. For many years, however, the approach was blunt and tactless, and administrators forced Indian children to stop speaking their native tongue while in school. Some form of punishment was administered to those who were caught breaking the language rule.

Bureau teachers in the overwhelming majority of cases are not trained to teach English as a second language, and the idea or belief seems to be that if one can speak English one is prepared to teach it. (Which is something like the blind leading the blind).

Robert Roessel, in his Handbook for Indian Education states: "Whereas all 50 states require teachers of foreign languages to have at least 45 hours of professional course work in the language they are to teach, there is not a single requirement in any state that the teacher of English as a foreign language have any prior training or experience."[129]

In describing the language conflict that arises when Indian children enter formal schools(public, private or Federal) the Waxes and Dumont in Education in an American Indian Community, state: "Given the abdication of their elders, and confronting teachers across a gulf of difference in age and culture, the slum (and reservation) pupils organize themselves into a cohesive society" which is anti-school establishment. They continued:

> The gulf between educators and pupils is deepened by differences in language or dialect of English. The children are subjected to courses designed to teach them a dialect of English that is considered 'correct' by pedagogues, but since few of the latter have any skill in linguistics or have the assistance of--electronic equipment-- the course work is usually more productive of classroom tension than of learning.[130]

Unfamiliarity with the English language is beyond a doubt one of the biggest handicaps Indian students face in the classroom. Some educators regard it as the major obstacle to the Indian child's academic

success. Miles V. Zintz, who conducted a series of tests on Indian students in New Mexico to determine their ability to comprehend idioms, antonyms, and analogies, concludes: "These tests, which were widely administered, proved the Indian students significantly inferior to their Anglo classmates. He continued:

> Approximately 90 percent of the activity that goes on in elementary schools during the formal school day is estimated to be reading and writing activity. This activity is pursued, of course, in the English language. For approximately half of the pupils in the public school, in New Mexico, English is, in reality, a second language. In their attempts to perform in this bilingual situation, these children labor under a considerable handicap.[131]

Research shows that Indians on the average do poorly on the various tests of intelligence and achievement which require a command of English, but do well on other (non-verbal) kinds of tests. Another interesting note along these lines, several surveys have demonstrated that children from homes in which the principle language spoken is English do much better on tests than children from homes where an Indian language is used. This theory was proven by Kenneth L. Deissler, in his study of Indian students from South Dakota, A Study of South Dakota Indian Achievement Problems.[132] Anthony L. Purley also proved this hypothesis to be true in his study of Indian students at Brigham Young University. Purley found that Indian students who used English as their basic language outperformed students who were bilingual, on SCAT and ACE tests, these same students also maintained a higher grade point average.[133]

One of the most interesting studies into the cultural differences which separate teachers and Indian students was that of Eleanor Provance. In this report Problems of Teaching Senior English in an Intercultural Secondary Boarding School for Eskimo and Indian Students, Miss Provance relates some of her experiences as an English teacher in an Alaskan boarding school, where her pupils were Eskimo, Aleut, and Indian. She

states:

> The Eskimos, were not motivated by rewards, were embarrassed to receive either praise or prizes, were accustomed to great permissiveness, had great respect for individual rights, were resentful of pressure or insistence, and never wanted to appear to know more than others in the group. The Tlingit were quite different. They had a strong social class feeling, a sense of personal property ownership, were accustomed to harsh discipline, and were motivated to strive for exceptional achievement.133

The drastic need for teachers trained in the art of teaching English as a foreign language is of compound importance and has been stressed by both Indian and non-Indian educators. The following statement is by Clarence Wesley, Chairman of the San Carlos Apache Tribe. He states:

> I suspect that failure to comprehend on the part of the Indian children accounts in large measure for the lessening of interest and enthusiasm for school which I am told begins for Indian children along about the fifth grade. I would insist upon the employment of teachers especially trained in the skills of teaching English to non-English speaking youngsters.134

During the last few years Indians and non-Indians alike have bombarded the BIA with requests and demands for change in the "medieval" manner in which they run (or attempt to run) the system of Indian education. One of the most scathing attacks upon the Bureau came from Ralph Nader, the noted consumer advocate. Mr. Nader gave the following statement in the Senate Subcommittee Hearings on Indian Education in 1969. He stated:

> For the last few years the BIA has been telling us about its ESL program -- English as a Second Language. In fact, ESL is continually resurrected and dusted off whenever the Bureau attempts to demonstrate its modernity and creativity. But assumption seems to be that if you can speak English, you can teach it. Even if the teacher's training were excellent and included a study of the child's Indian dialect, the fact that the primary language for instruction remains English means that the child inevitably misses a great deal in the early years. And though no complete survey is available of the language problem in the public schools, the available evidence does suggest similar failure.

Mr. Nader then proposed the following: "A more intelligent mixture of native languages and English would not only improve the student's

eventual language proficiency, but would also serve to ease the culture conflict faced by the child. Meaningful respect for native languages is an essential part of developing healthier self-confidence.[135]

In describing the present problems that exist in Federal schools for Indians, the following statement by clinical psychologist, Theresa M. Miller, (Saturday Review, Oct. 15, 1966), states:

> It is obvious even to the untrained observer that when large numbers of children reject education and fail to learn the skills necessary for success in a society, there is evidence of maladjustment. There is some question, however, about where to find the primary patient. Is it always the child?[136]

If Indian education is ever to improve, non-Indian educators and administrators will have to reverse their present form of "vacuum ideology." Coercive education has not worked in the past and will not work in the future. Indian education must reflect the needs and views of the Indian people, and above all else, it must be directed and controlled by Indian people. Bilingual, and bicultural materials must be instituted in all government schools for Indians. Indian culture and values must be stressed at all levels of the educational ladder.

Teachers and administrators must learn to accept Indians as individuals and assist them in their educational growth, not try to change or condemn for the lack of change. In other words, it is they who must change, "the teachers, the administrators, the curriculum, and the schools themselves -- not the Indian children."

D. Federal Boarding Schools for Indians

"The primary objective of Federal schools operated for Indian children," according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, (Statistics Concerning Indian Education, Fiscal Year, 1972), "is to prepare them for successful living." The report goes on to say:

> In Federal schools children develop basic academic skills, acquire an understanding of the social and economic world which surrounds them, learn improved standards of living, follow practices which assure optimum health, acquire the necessary vocational training to qualify for gainful employment, and obtain sufficient education to enter special schools and institutions of higher learning.137

The above statements taken from Interior Department records thoroughly outline the objectives and purposes of the BIA educational program. However, objectives on paper and actual results are two different things. A careful review of the historical literature reveals a drastically different picture and outcome.

Today, after 180 years of experimentation by the Federal government, we can see the tragic results of this bureaucratic, non-Indian, educational policy. A policy that has vacillated between the two extremes of "coercion and persuasion." A policy that has an end result of assimilation as the final goal. A policy that has denied Indians a voice since its inception -- a policy that is sadly in need of change. The following statistics are evidence of this need for change:

> The average educational level for all Indians under Federal supervision is 5 years; the dropout rates for Indian students is twice the national average in both Federal and public schools; the average Indian income is $1,500, 75 percent below the national average; the unemployment rate among Indians is 40 percent, more than 10 times the national average; and Indian children, more than any other group, believe themselves to be below average in intelligence.138

This is even more disturbing when you consider the following statement by the Senate Subcommittee on Indian education:

> Thousands of Indians have migrated into cities only to find themselves untrained for jobs and unprepared for urban life. Many of them return to the reservation more disillusioned and defeated than when they left.139

One of the major problems in Indian education and the one in particular that has caused much of the mental anguish and psychological destruction among Indian people, is the system of "boarding school" run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Today, after some 90 years of off-reservation and reservation boarding schools, there are between 4 and 5 generations of Indians who are the products of these medieval institutions, Indians who have been raised without the proper parental guidance and affection, Indians who have been taught their language, their religion, and their cultural heritage were bad, Indians who have been taught to be ashamed of their birthright.

"Federal boarding schools have caused more damage to Native Americans than the United States Cavalry." They are directly and indirectly responsible for many of the rising mental health problems among Indian people. Since their inception in the 1870s they have been the principle driving force used to destroy Indian tribal societies and family groups.

John Collier, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs gave the following purpose of Federal boarding schools:

> To kill the Indian traditions and to break the relationship of the generations, Indian children were seized at six years and were confined in "boarding schools" until past their adolescence. In vacation time they were indentured to Whites as servants. In the schools the use of native languages was forbidden; everything reminiscent of or relevant to Indian life was excluded; the children were forced to join whichever Christian church, through the favor of the Indian Bureau, had entrenched itself in the particular school.140

Over the past 50 years, numerous reports have documented the problems and needs of Indian education, but few have carried the impact of the Meriam Report of 1928. This magnificent report published some 46 years ago was extremely critical of Indian boarding schools both because of the inadequate facilities and the brutal manner in which they were operated. It stated:

> Whatever may have been the official governmental attitude, education for the Indian in the past has proceeded largely on the theory that it is necessary to remove the Indian child as far as possible from his home environment; whereas the modern point of

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> view in education and social work lays stress on upbringing in the natural setting of home and family life. The Indian educational enterprise is peculiarly in need of the kind of approach that recognizes this principle; that is, less concerned with a conventional school system and more with the understanding of human beings.

With this, the report continued: "The most fundamental need in Indian education is a change in point of view."[141]

1. BIA Budget is Totally Inadequate

The education budget of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is totally inadequate, and has been since 1794. According to the Senate Subcommittee Hearings of 1969, the BIA spends approximately $1,100 per student per year in a Federal boarding school. This compares very unfavorable with other residential programs. As an example of this inadequate spending, schools for the physically handicapped often expend $3,000 or more per student per year. It was also pointed out that boarding schools in the East often spend $4,000 or more per student per year.

In 1969, the BIA decided to apply severe restrictions on educational expenditures, but at the end of the year they still ended up some $4 million in the red. This necessitated many cutbacks in the fiscal 1970 program -- which meant that needed textbooks and supplies could not be purchased. It is interesting to note that at the present time the BIA only spends $18 per child per year on textbooks and supplies, compared to a national average of $40.

Many of the school facilities operated by the BIA are not only inferior, but have been actually condemned. The estimated amount of money needed to bring their facilities up to minimum standards as of 1969 was $178 million. As a result of a lack of high school facilities in Alaska, over 1,200 Alaskan natives are sent to boarding schools in Oregon and Oklahoma. And thousands of Navajo children are housed in damaging elementary boarding schools on the Navajo reservation because

of inadequate appropriations for roads and day schools.

2. Indian Academic Performance is Low

The academic performance of Indian students in BIA schools is seriously deficient and indicates to a large degree the magnitude of the overall problem. The following statistics will provide ample evidence of deficiency:

a. Only 60 percent of the Indian students in BIA high schools graduate, compared with a national average of 74 percent.

b. Of the number of students who graduate from high school, only 28 percent enter college, as compared with a national average of 50 percent.

c. Students graduating from Federal schools are on the average more than 2 years below national norms on achievement tests. Many students graduate with little better than a 9th grade level of proficiency.

d. Only one out of four of the students who enroll in college graduate.

e. Only one out of 100 Indian college graduates will receive a master's degree.

f. In summary: In an average class of 400 students entering a BIA high school, only 240 will graduate. Of those 240, 67 can be expected to enroll in college. Of these 67, only 19 will graduate from college. The chances are 99 our of 100 that the college graduate will never get a master's degree.143

3. Mental Health Problems Are Increasing

During the last few years, Psychologists, psychiatrists, and other experts in the field of mental behavior have noted a drastic rise in mental health problems among Native Americans, and especially among Indian students. This particular area of neglect was well illuminated during the subcommittee hearings by many experts, who all agree on one thing, "the problems are serious and getting worse."

According to the chief psychiatrist for the U.S. Public Health Service in Alaska:

> If mental health problems are broadly construed to include not only mental illness and alcoholism, but also child neglect and delinquency and other behavioral problems, then mental health problems are the major health problem of Alaska natives.144

One of the most severe emotional problems striking Native Americans today is the rising rate of suicide among Indian adolescents. During the Senate Subcommittee investigations they found adolescent suicide problems of epidemic proportions on the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho and on the Quinault Reservation in Washington. Similar problems were also found among the Sioux in South Dakota where suicide attempt rates were more than twice the national average. Other forms of extreme social disorganization found among the Sioux were:

> A delinquency rate for Indian adolescents 9 times the national average, extensive and severe alcoholism problems on every reservation, an alarming amount of glue and gasoline sniffing among prepubertal Indian children, almost 1 in 5 adolescents had no adult male in the house and the number of Indian children in foster homes was almost 5 times the national average.145

On the Navajo Reservation in Arizona, the U.S. Public Health Service reported severe problems among young Navajo adults of "drunkenness, child neglect, drunken and reckless driving." They further added:

> Alarming numbers of people have lapsed into an alienated, apathetic life marked by episodes of delinquency and irresponsibility.146

In a study of high school students in a plains tribe, 84 percent of the boys and 76 percent of the girls claimed they drank. Thirty-seven percent claimed they drank frequently.147

In 1965, the Bureau of Indian Affairs published a booklet entitled "Alcohol and the American Indian Students." This interesting booklet contained the results of a year long survey by the BIA in which they studied the drinking patterns of Indian high school students. The results were:

> Among high school boys, all but a handful admitted to having

> started drinking in their teens, and some started as early as 9 or 10. Among the girls, only about 28 percent did not drink before reaching high school. Although most students drink with their peers, about 1/6 of the boys had drunk with their parents at home.
> Resons for drinking given by the students were, 'for kicks, not wanting to be called a sissy, to feel happy, to forget, to get up courage to dance, boredom, to relieve feelings of inferiority, and to experiment.148

Excessive alcohol usage appears to be closely interrelated with other manifestations of social disorganization in Indian communities. Indian arrest rates as well as assaults, homicides, accidents, and suicides are associated with alcohol. The overwhelming majority of fines and prison sentences in the Indian population are also directly related to alcohol.

In the state penitentiary of South Dakota, for example:

> Indians constitute approximately 34 percent of the prison inmates, whereas only 5 percent of the State's population is Indian. This is even more alarming when you consider that one-forth of the South Dakota State Training School (juvenile prison) population is made up of Indian boys, and approximately one-half of the female section is made up of Indian girls. The majority of the crimes were committed while under the influence of alcohol.149

According to Omer Stewart who completed a comprehensive study of American Indian Criminality, "patterns of juvenile delinquency among American Indians are directly derivative of the configuration of crimes among adults." He continued:

> At first glance, Indian criminality relative to population size seems to be exceptionally large. Nationally the rate for all types of arrests is nearly 3 times that of Blacks and about 8 times that of whites. But a more careful look shows that this exceptional crime rate is largely due to alcoholism, 71 percent of all Indian arrests reported in 1960, were alcohol-related. This rate for all alcohol related crimes is 12 times greater than the national average and constitutes the largest single factor in Indian criminality.150

4. Boarding Schools are Detrimental to Indian Youth

There are relatively few reports available on the mental health

problems of Indian children and most of the evidence assembled so far has come from boarding schools. The school is perhaps the most important institution of White society confronted by Indians and it is certainly the most important of the Indian child. It is in the school that the child encounters the basic values and vaunting expectations of the dominant society and in most cases those values and expectations are not only opposite but unfavorable to those taught in the Indian home and community. The resulting confusion creates many emotional and adjustment problems for the child. One of the best indications of these problems is his poor academic performance and alienation from the system.

Report after report seems to indicate that Indian students develop emotional problems as a result of their early separation from parents and home life and the conflict of cultures that takes place after forcing the children into the strict military type environment of the boarding schools.

According to Daniel J. O'Connell, M.D., executive secretary of the National Committee on Indian Health:

> There is almost universal agreement in the field of developmental psychology that early separation of a child from the family unit is a destructive influence.

In regard to elementary boarding schools, Dr. O'Connell not only went on record as being opposed to them but stated: "They are a destructive practice that results in 'emotional damage' to the children."[151]

In another interesting report by Dr. Thaddeus Krush on the "Formation of Personality Disorder" of Indian boarding school children, he concluded:

> The students frequency of movement and the necessity to conform to changing standards can only lead to confusion and disorganization of the child's personality. The frequency of movement further interferes with and discourages the development of lasting relations in which love and concern permit adequate maturation.[152]

In discussing the detrimental effects Indian children suffer from Federal boarding schools, Dr. Robert L. Leon, consultant psychiatrist for the Division of Indian Health Service in boarding schools, stated:

> The generic emotional problem which plagues 100% of the boarding school population is the unhappiness, insecurity, and anxiety caused by the separation of the children from their families. Anxiety symptoms, resulting from separation are manifested in sleeplessness, loss of appetite, and general regression to an earlier level of emotional development.153

It is rather obvious that Federal boarding schools are not only failing Indian children but extremely detrimental to their mental health. If these archaic institutions are to continue to exist, and it looks as if they will, they must undergo drastic changes. Dr. James M. Kilgore, Jr., a consultant psychiatrist to the U.S. Public Health Service, who worked with Indian children at Phoenix Indian School, made the following recommendations:

> It is my opinion that the boarding school, if it is to continue and be allowed to exist should be made into a 'residential treatment center school' with emphasis not only on giving adequate education, but also providing adequate foster parents and appropriate plans for mental health development and treatment of mental disorders.154

A similar recommendation for transforming the off-reservation boarding school was made to the subcommittee by Dr. Robert L. Leon in his testimony on October 1, 1968. Dr. Leon phrased his recommendation thus:

> I propose to you that funds be made available from the Congress to convert many of the Indian boarding schools into residential treatment centers for emotionally disturbed children. The schools which are converted into residential treatment centers should be administered by mental health personnel. The program should be planned and developed jointly by mental health and educational personnel. All educational and dormitory personnel should have training in the care and treatment of emoionally disturbed and socially deprived children.

Dr. Leon further stated: "The present inadequacy of the boarding schools to treat the emotional problems of the student 'nullifies' the

educational effort; that, bluntly, the boarding school experience does more harm than good. [155] They do not educate; they alienate."

5. Chilocco Indian School Exposed

In 1969, a report was published and inserted into the Congressional Record by Senator Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) concerning the physical abuse of Indian students by staff members at the Chilocco Indian Boarding School in Oklahoma. The report stated:

> Indian youth -- both boys and girls -- were handcuffed for as long as 18 hours in the dormitories with their hands behind their backs, from above or around a basement pillar or from suspended pipes. Permanent wrist scars on one youngster's arms, the deformed hand of another, and an obviously broken and misshaped rib of another testified to the veracity of the students' chilling report.

The 1969 report further charged the school's administrators condoned these barbaric practices with such comments as: "Well, we have always done it this way." The handcuffings and summary jailings were not limited to male students alone. Three girls were handcuffed and placed in jail while the investigators were on the campus. Chilocco was judged by the investigating team to have the "worst conditions" of all the seventy-seven Indian boarding schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. [156]

6. U.N.A. Investigates Federal Schools

After reading of the disgusting ordeal Indian students were forced to endure at Chilocco, the president of United Native Americans, Inc., Lehman L. Brightman led his Indian organization in investigations of seven off-reservation boarding schools. As a result of these investigations and other research in the field of Indian education, the U.N.A. president has testified before two senate hearings and is the author of numerous articles on Indian education and related problems. In a recent

article entitled "Intermountain Indian School: A Case Study of Educational Failure," Brightman gave the following statement:

> The deplorable conditions and oppressive atmosphere at these Federal boarding schools are classic examples of what education should not be. It is impossible to conceive of these 'medieval' institutions existing today: even so, approximately one-third of all American Indian children are forced to attend these schools, which are located hundreds, and sometimes thousands of miles away from their homes and families.

Drinking Has Become a Chronic Problem

In discussing the problem of alcohol among Indian boarding school students, Brightman stated: "Due to the lack of recreation and the unnecessary strictness of the rules which regulate their already blighted lives, many of the boarding school students seek to escape from their miserable circumstances through 'drinking,' which has become a chronic problem at all of these institutions. With this he continued:

> Most of the schools, as a matter of policy expell students who have been discovered drinking while others simply have them jailed. Adhering to the brutal dictates of the past, some schools beat students who violate the drinking prohibition, while others merely subject them to the public indignity of having their heads shaved bald. Others are employing high-powered hypodermically administered 'knockout' drugs to cope with the problem instead of going to its roots to determine why so many students are driven to drink and what can be done to alleviate both its cause and effect.
> Beyond alcohol, many students seek to escape their harsh life in Federal boarding schools by sniffing glue, paint, and gasoline, unconcerned with the irreparable damage these volatile substances can cause their brains and internal organs.

In citing the actual conditions he found at Intermountain Indian School, he gave the following: "School authorities at Intermountain have established a 'drunk tank' in one dormitory where they supposedly place 'drunken' students for safekeeping. Once the students who are purportedly 'drunk' are confined in the drunk tank the more intoxicated captives are forcibly given shots of a very powerful drug called 'Thorazine'." Thorazine is a suppressant that is used quite extensively in

treating "mental patients" who become violent. It literally knocks them out for hours, depending upon the dosage administered. The manufacturers of Thorazine state, "it is not to be used in conjunction with alcohol because it can arrest the normal body functions resulting in death."

Intermountain Indian School authorities are well aware of the risks they are taking with the lives of their charges, yet they continue to use this powerful drug on them. Indian students who have been subjected to Thorazine say they don't come off the full effects of the drug for at least three days or more. One female student informed us she has had dizzy spells and experiences loss of equilibrium at times due to the shot of Thorazine she received. Thorazine is a suppressant, so is alcohol and to put the two together is extremely dangerous, especially when treating youths. "These people are playing Russina roulette with the lives of our youth," he added, "and it must be stopped."

Handcuffs Versus Thorazine

According to Brightman, Intermountain Indian School started the use of Thorazine in 1970. Before this the school used handcuffs and shaved students heads as punishment for drinking. He related one dramatic instance in which he was told of a boy who had his head shaved:

> I cried all night long after having my head shaved, I didn't sleep all night. I went to the hospital the next day and told the doctor I did not want to go to school because of a headache. 'It was my pride to have my hair. Now I have no pride.'

Dormitory Conditions Are Terrible

In describing the dormitory conditions Brightman stated: "It is

impossible to conceive of school buildings owned and operated by the Federal government in such dilapidated conditions." Outside of the dormitories the grounds were littered with trash and debris of every description and most of the buildings were in dire need of painting both inside and out. The dormitories were overcrowded, run down and dirty, and broken windows were everywhere. All in all, the dormitories and other buildings were in sad shape and the whole atmosphere was squalid and utterly depressing.

Student living quarters were seriously overcrowded, with 6 to 8 students to a room originally designed to hold 4 at the most. None of the boys' rooms contained dressers for their clothing and most of their wall lockers were broken with doors hanging by one hinge. No sutdy desks were seen in any of the rooms and the lighting provided was totally inadequate for reading and study purposes. The bathrooms were dirty, littered with trash and in sore need of disinfectant agents. Most had broken windows and no doors. Certain dormitories are "bugged" and the students themselves are subjected to constant surveillance by school authorities.

Student Complaints

A majority of the students were disenchanted with the Intermountain School authorities, who they feel are over strict and completely oblivous to their needs and desires. Student luggage is searched by Bureau agents on entering and leaving the school. Different students complained that school authorities have on occasion actually followed students to the bus station and forced them to open their luggage in view of the general public for search. Students are also forced to open their mail and packages in front of school officials, so they can list the contents and identify the sender, supposedly. Students com-

plained that certain teachers grade them on "attitude" in some classes rather than on their class work. Any student who shows pro-Indian tendancies and wears an "Indian Power" button is graded down. Many of the students interviewed advised us that Intermountain teachers give little or no homeowrk. When students complain they have no books to take back to the dormitories and study, they are told: "Why should we give you books to take home? You would only lose them anyway."

Students also complained that they are not allowed "seconds" on food until the last 15 minutes of each meal period. Can you imagine 1,600 students trying to obtain "seconds" in 15 minutes? Students who lose their meal cards are forced to wait two and three days for a new one. During this time they are not allowed to eat in the cafeteria. Some students informed us they had to literally starve for a few days because they did not have the money to eat in town.

Religious Persecution

In citing other complaints and conditions the U.N.A. members recorded at Intermountain Indian School, Brightman added: "One of the biggest complaints of Indian students and employees alike was of religious persecution." Intermountain School is located outside of Brigham City, Utah, deep in the heart of "Mormon Country." During our investigation we were advised that approximately 70 to 80 percent of the employees at Intermountain are Mormon. We soon discovered that other religious orders are not exactly welcomed with open arms as a multitude of religious complaints were registered by non-Mormon Indians. Listed blow are some of the complaints:

> Indian employees and students complain that Mormons belittle Indian beliefs and culture. Indian employees further claim that the Mormons' faith is forced upon the Indians at every turn. Moreover, Mormons are given preferential treatment over

non-Mormons. We were told that Indian employees who belong to the "Native American Church" are subjected to constant harrassment by Mormons. Indian employees who have dropped out of the "Latter Day Saints" Church (LDS) complain they have been subjected to various and numerous abuses by their Mormon supervisors. We were informed that Indian students who believe and attempt to practice the Indian form of religion suffer harrassment, and when Indian students are discovered carrying medicine pouches on their persons, the pouches are 'confiscated' and never returned.

All in all, Indian employees and students at Intermountain Indian School must not only face the harsh rules and regulations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but in addition they must also face harrassment and religious persecution at the hands of Mormons who seem to go out of their way to make life as miserable as possible for their Indian brethren.

Summary

Intermountain Indian School is the sixth BIA boarding school I have investigated in the last three years and it is by far the worst. It is a perfect example of what school should not be. It is overcrowded, the food is bad, the buildings run-down, the facilities are old, and the incompetence of the administrators is overcome only by their gross "ignorance." The teachers fail to give students homework or books and they fail students because of their attitudes. This is an impossible atmosphere and it is unfair to subject Indian students to it if they are to gain any meaningful educational experience during the brief span of their youth.

Intermountain Indian School allows little room for individual thinkers and virtually no room for Indians who are seeking "self-determination" and who evidence pride in the fact they are Indians. The blame for this primitive type of educational situation falls dir-

ectly on the administration which not only condones but advocates the continuance of this bigoted intolerance and abuse.

I feel the Intermountain Indian School should be closed and the students moved closer to their homes and the protective influence of their parents. They must, at all costs, be moved out of the heart of "Mormon country" and be returned to the security of their own people... before it is too late.

Chemawa Indian School

Another Indian boarding school investigated by U.N.A. is Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon. Chemawa has the distinction of being the oldest continuously operated Indian school in the United States. In describing Chemawa, Brightman stated:

> At first glance, it seems to resemble a concentration camp with its dilapidated old red brick buildings surrounded by wire fences and divided by railroad tracks. But after you become accustomed to the antiquated surroundings and the depressing atmosphere of the 80 year-old buildings, you realize this is just the Federal government's way of saying, 'We don't give a damn about Indian people.'

Chemawa is not accredited by the State Department of Education, and school officials even refuse to allow the Indian students to take college credit courses. Almost everything seems to be against the Indian students; the archaic educational facilities, the insensitive staff, the outdated textbooks, the complete lack of counseling, and a curriculum that is irrelevant to the students' basic educational needs.

Dormitories are Fire Hazards

The overall condition of the dormitories leaves much to be desired. They are not only old, dirty, and overcrowded but are extreme "fire hazards." Fire extinguishers had not been inspected and refilled in four to five years. Indeed, some were only half full of fluid even

though government regulations demand they be checked and refilled each year. To compound the matter, neither of the girls' dormitories, which are two story buildings, have fire escapes and the stairways are very narrow. Considering all the conditions, if a fire ever did break out in one of these dormitories, the chances of escape for students on the second floor would be very slim.

Most of the student rooms are small and built to accommodate a maximum of four students, but school authorities assign four to eight students to a room. Each room inspected contained one or two small desks for study in such arrangement that only one student could utilize the space at any given time. Closet space was thoroughly inadequate, and yet two students are expected to share one small closet. Under these crowded living conditions there is virtually no privacy and, consequently little opportunity for the individual to engage in serious study. To further compound the matters, the heating system cannot be controlled by the students, so they are forced to endure temperatures either too hot or too cold.

Bathrooms

The bathrooms in the boys' dormitories were filthy, 20 feet away from these facilities we were confronted with the stench of urine. Once inside we found them to be littered with trash, in dire need of disinfectant, and lacking toilet paper. Even the bathing facilities posed a problem for the students because flushing the toilet produced scalding water in the showers.

The Chemawa Library

The library at Chemawa operates on a strict 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. schedule and is not open on evenings or weekends. Students informed

us that few people actually use the facility, there are few books devoted to the subject of Indians, and virtually no current publications by Indian authors.

Religious Persecution

The superintendent of Chemawa informed us that Indian students were not forced to attend church and they were free to worship any faith of their choosing. Yet, Indian students gave a different picture. In fact, they stated that 25 students were given 10 hours of extra work and two weeks restriction for trying to worship in the "Shaker" faith, a common religious practice among the Indian tribes of the Northwest. These same students told us that school officials called them "troublemakers" and ridiculed them in public.

Students' Luggage is Searched

One of the biggest complaints of the students is that their luggage is searched on entering and leaving the school. When asked about this, the superintendent said he did not know the practice existed. Students informed the U.N.A. members that school officials are afraid students might steal something.

Chemawa Teaching Staff

Chemawa has a teaching staff of 54 teachers for a student body of approximately 581 students. Students informed the U.N.A. members that they are rarely assigned homework and that making good grades was an easy task. They complained that most of their classes don't have enough books for all the students and they are not allowed to take them home after class. Furthermore, only four of the teachers are of Indian extraction, and according to students the majority of the non-Indian teachers display little empathy towards their pupils and fail to make

an effort to understand Indians.

Counselors

Chemawa has a total of three counselors for approximately 581 students which gives each counselor a work load of 193 students. Most of the students informed us they had not talked to a counselor since they arrived at the school, and some were seniors. Students complained that none of the three counselors are Indian and they can't relate to them.

The Point System

Indian students at Chemawa are governed by very strict rules and regulations and they are placed under a "point system" by which they can gain or lose points for almost every type of behavior in their daily lives while at the school. Some of the major infractions for which points are taken away are: fighting, drinking, bringing liquor on campus, giving liquor to others, using drugs, sexual misbehavior, stealing, and vandalism. Other infractions of a lesser nature for which points are lost are: "Late for classes, not making one's bed on time, out of room for bed check, not doing assignments, AWOL, and smoking in rooms." We found lists of rules posted in every dormitory as well as rosters of students who had broken the rules. These students are given extra work details or restriction. When on restriction students are not allowed to attend such student activities as "movies, sporting events, and going to town on weekends."

Alcohol: A Chronic Problem

Alcohol is one of the biggest and most serious problems at Chemawa. Students are penalized 25 points and placed on restriction when caught drinking. They are also expelled from school if they are caught drink-

ing three times or more. When asked about this, the superintendent said it was not true, yet other school officials confirmed the charges.

Chemawa Has Two Drunk Tanks

Alcohol has become such a problem at Chemawa that school officials established a treatment center with "two drunk tanks." Besides throwing students into drunk tanks, Chemawa also uses Thorazine on the unlucky victims. When asked abou the use of Thorazine most of the students were unaware of what they were being injected with but one yound girl told us that she had to carry her roommate home on numerous occassions after receiving injections of something. School officials did not want to talk about the subject or the drunk tanks either for that matter.

The Railroad Track

One of the most interesting things about Chemawa is the fact that a railroad track divides the school into two parts. The shop buildings, cafeteria, dormitories, and the gymnasium are on one side and the administration building, the hospital, and the classroom buildings are on the other side of the tracks. The two sides are connected by an underground tunnel. Students claimed that approximately 20 trains pass through the school during a 24 hour period. In 1971, an Indian student was killed by a train in front of the school. We were told by the school officials that it was a suicide. However, the students expressed doubts about this. They claim the student was drunk and accidently was hit by the train.

The Great Mail Search

Students told us that they were forced to open their packages last Christmas (1971) in front of school authorities so the packages could

be searched for whiskey and drugs. School authorities were very reluctant to talk about this incident but the students say this kind of search is a "common thing" at Chemawa.

Few Indian Employees

Chemawa has approximately 187 employees of which only 42 are Native Americans. A further look at the employee list revealed that of the 42 Indian employees, 21 held Civil Service ratings of GS7 or below and only 11 Indian employees held GS ratings of 8 or above.

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Pierre Indian School Labeled Sick

In relating the results of other Indian boarding schools investigated by U.N.A., Brightman stated: "Of all the Indian schools we have investigated, Pierre Indian School is beyond a doubt the 'worst' of the lot." This is an elementary boarding school that houses approximately 150 students, most of whom are "orphans, wards of the state, or from broken homes." "These small children are desperately in need of love and affection, but in this 'hell hole' all they get is abuse." With this he continued:

> Students who break the rules are subjected to physical punishment from school employees who seem to take great delight in striking the small children for even the slightest offense. A child will be struck once for stealing and twice for smoking, sniffing glue, or attempting to run away. In the older boys dormitory physical punishment is inflicted upon anyone who is found out of his room after 9:30 p.m., or after the lights are out. The helpless victim is forced to kneel on the floor while a large, vicious dormitory attendant strikes the boy in the forehead with his knuckles. This form of brutality is called a 'kelley.' Children charged with shiplifting, glue-sniffing or going AWOL are confined to bed (among other things) when they are not eating or in classes. This form of punishment may be continued for a number of days depending on the rule the child is accused of breaking.

Student Luggage is Searched

Upon entering or leaving the school, Pierre officials thoroughly

inspect the students luggage. Any mail or packages a child receives must be opened in the presence of a school employee. Should these contain any money, it is immediately confiscated and taken to the main office. Phone calls are monitored and church attendance is mandatory. Those who refuse to attend are subjected to reprimand and punishment. The child is given additional work and forced to kneel on the floor for an hour or until church is out. Furthermore, a child who does not participate in the religious services may not attend the movies on Sunday.

Young Girl Molested

One young girl reported that she had been sexually molested by a male teacher who had forced her to stay in his classroom after school. He then threatened that any mention of the incident would result in her being put on detention for the rest of the year. One of her classmates did bring the matter to the attention of the school authorities, however. They proceeded to both 'clear' the teacher of the charges and put the young victim into isolation. When the U.N.A. members asked school officials about the girl and why she was being held in isolation, they were informed that she was "mentally unstable" and that she enjoyed living in the isolation room. Her friends on the other hand, stated this was not true and that she was being confined against her will. We later learned that students are placed in the "isolation room" for punishment for any number of reasons.

Another young girl informed the U.N.A. team that she was slapped in the face and knocked to the ground for the major crime of "walking on the grass." A school official who happened to witness the vicious incident handed the crying child a paper tissue and told her to wipe the "blood" from her face.

Children Charged with Shoplifting

On Saturday and Sunday the children are bussed into town and allowed to stay for two hours between 2 and 4 p.m. The school gives each child two dollars to spend (if they have it in savings). However, in the event that a child returns to the school with anything worth more than two dollars and can not produce a receipt, they are charges with "shoplifting" and the item confiscated.

Students Must Work for Clothes

While the Federal government customarily provides free clothing to orphans and wards of the state, the students at Pierre Indian School are forced to work for all of their garments:

> Students must work six hours for a pair of pants, and shoes, four hours labor earns a shirt, and one hour of work will earn the child a pair of socks or shorts. The day U.N.A. members visited the institution there was snow on the ground, temperatures were very low and yet, not one child seemed to have a coat to protect him from the cold.

Dormitories are Fire Hazards

All dormitories are sparsely furnished. Each room houses four children and contains four beds, four wall lockers, two chairs and two dressers. There are no desks, rugs, or locks on the doors. Windows throughout the institution are secured to open only three inches, creating a potentially dangerous situation in the event of a fire. A further check of the fire extinguishers revealed that most were only half full of fluid and none had been checked by officials since 1969, a period of three years.

Life is Hard at Pierre Indian School

Children attending Pierre Indian School are forced to live under such oppressive rules and restrictions that the institution appears to

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be a cross between the military and a penitentiary. Punishment for breaking the rules runs from the loss of recreation to outright child abuse in the form of beatings and isolation. The atmosphere at Pierre is so bad and depressing that extremely large numbers of the small children attempt to run away each year. Others may choose their escape by sniffing glue or gasoline. One young boy who was asked why he sniffed glue answered: "Because it helps me forget about the way things are here."

Since all of the children at Pierre School are so isolated from anyone who might care about their treatment, they are particularly vulnerable to the mistreatment handed down by the more "sadistic" employees of the institution. It became obvious, through U.N.A.'s investigation, that a number of the Pierre staff take advantage of the children's situation because they only have to answer to each other.

Indian Students are Programmed for the Common Labor Market

Today when non-Indian students reach the 8th or 9th grade level they are informed of the importance of a high grade point required to enter college. They are also encouraged to take college preparatory courses to aid them in this educational journey. However, just the opposite occurs with Indian students in Federal schools. Rarely, if ever, are they informed of the tremendous need for good grades to enter college, much less given the opportunity to take courses designed to aid them in future educational ventures.

In fact, as a rule they are encouraged to take vocational training courses. Then upon graduation, if they are lucky enough to reach this plateau they are given three choices: (1) They can go on "relocation" to one of the large urban areas and take up additional vocational training; (2) They can return to the reservation and join the ranks of

the unemployed; or (3) They can join the military service, which many are encouraged to do. Any way they chose they are programmed for the "common labor market." Some boarding schools actually have ROTC units on school grounds such as "Phoenix Indian School," where a Marine Corps Unit exists. As matter of course many of the Indian students end up in the Marines whether they are encouraged or not, just by having the ROTC Unit on campus. This should be stopped immediately -- if Indian children are to be encouraged to do anything, they should be encouraged to enter college.

Boarding School Libraries Are Rarely Open

Boarding school libraries are run like a business venture, they are open from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. five days a week. They are closed on evenings and weekends and in most cases books devoted to the subject of Indians are few in number and old. There seems to be a general reluctance on the part of the BIA to stock contemporary books and magazines published by Indian organizations and authors.

The condition of most boarding school libraries is similar to the other buildings in the BIA system. They are "old, drab, overcrowded, and as a rule dimly lit, with far too little space for study.

Libraries in most cases are the focal point of most ecucational research and study. They are placed within the school system for the educational advancement of the students and should be utilized by them as part of their overall educational experience. Indian students should not only be encouraged to use the libraries but should be given ample homework that requires them to use these research centers.

The sooner the BIA learns that education is not an 8 to 5 job in which they are free to close ship and forget the business after nightfall or on the weekends, the sooner Indian children will began to show

some form of improvement. This is one of the major reasons Indian education has and is failing; the Federal government runs it like a business venture, "one that is going broke, or on the verge of bankruptcy."

Boarding Schools Breed Failure

Once confined in a Federal boarding school, each hour of the child's day is planned by the clock, with strict schedules posted in dormitories and classrooms. Meals, classes, chores, study periods, free-time, and bed time, the stifling routine seldom varies. Students who break the rules are given demerits, which are removed by performing extra chores or by sacrificing privileges like going to the movies, T.V., dances, or trips to town. Headcounts are taken at all hours of the day and night to identify runaways or "AWOLS" as the BIA calls them. In some schools (like Flandreau) headcounts are taken every hour on the hour all night long.

The results of this "super-rigid" environment where even over age high school students of 20 and 21 are put to bed at 9:00 p.m. has a telling effect upon the students. Then after 10 to 12 years of this crushing style of regimentation, the students are shoved out the doors of the schools and told, "you are on your own". These youths are not prepared educationally or psychologically for the type of world in which they must live and function. Consequently, many dropout and the cities and reservations are full of them - "misfits" in a state of "limbo" doomed for poverty and failure.

E. Lack of Parental Involvement

Since the inception of the Federal school system for American

Indians there has never been any real concerted effort on the part of the government to involve Indian parents and community people. The government has given Indians a certain amount of financial aid for education, but they in turn have expected the Indians to accept their philosophy of education. Which means Indians actually don't have any input into their schools, they are completely controlled by non-Indians, basically the "Bureau of Indian Affairs."

Schools are designed to serve the "power group" which in this case is the dominant White middle-class, non American Indians. Actually Bureau schools are not too differnet from public schools that Indians attend, both are controlled by non-Indians and neither is culturally a part of the Indian community. Rarely do you find Indians on school boards, curriculum planning committees or in PTA meetings. Indian parents and communities have practically no control over the schools educating their children. To compound matters, in most cases the schools are located in non-Indian settings completely alien to the community they supposedly serve.

Most Indian schools are named after famous non-Indians and the curriculum in most cases is the same as that used in standard public schools, completely devoid of anything Indian. Even the pictures they hang on the walls in most cases are those of non-Indians. About the only thing Indian in Indian schools are the Indian children and a few Indian cooks and janitors and other menial workers.

Most of the major reports published in the last 50 years have stressed the need for Indian involvement in Indian education if it is to be successful. The Meriam Report published in 1930, stated:

> No matter how much may be done in schools, or how much the educational program may center about the school, as it very well may, a genuine educational program will have to comprise

the adults of the community as well as the children.160

The Meriam Report further stated: "Everything in the Indian life and surroundings will have to tie into the educational program in a manner now seldom observed."[161]

The Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education recognizing the tremendous need for Indian input and control of their schools stated: "One theme running through all our recommendations is increased Indian participation and control of their own education programs. For far too long, the Nation has paid only token heed to the notion that Indians should have a strong voice in their own destiny." With this they continued:

> We have recommended that local Indian boards of education be established for Indian schools, districts; and that Indian parental and community involvement be increased.162

The Coleman Report, "Equality of Educational Opportunity" stated: "The amount of money spent on a school does not make it a success for minorities, it's something else." With this it continued:

> Parents must have a say in the schools to make them a success. And Indian parents are not given the chance to participate in the schools their children attend. They are 'powerless,' in terms of control of their schools.163

The first step in improving and changing Indian education is to give it back to the Indian people, where it belongs. The curriculum, the staff, the plants, and the direction of Indian education must all be changed. This we know, but if this change is brought about by non-Indians, even if the change is for the better, it will be just another form of the same -- "colonialism."

XVII. The Failure of Federal Schools

Part III: Recommendations

The development of an effective and responsive educational program for Indian people must become a top priority objective of the Federal government. For this "miracle" to take place, major changes must be instituted in all phases of the present educational system. To bring about these changes I recommend the following:

A. Transfer Responsibility for Indian Education to HEW

Indian education has shown little if any progress and improvement under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Interior Department in the last four decades. This is really not hard to understand when you realize that the Department of Interior's interests lie mainly with the "resources," the oil and mineral industries, grazing lands, outdoor recreation, reclamation, etc. Needless to say, the Interior Department is not geared for the kinds of social changes that are necessary for improvement and future progress.

HEW would be a much better place to put Indian education if it were to be located in an established agency. As an agency established to deal directly with people and social change, HEW would not only be better equipped but more responsive to the basic needs of Indian education. HEW would also be much more venerable to the pressure of Indians and non-Indians alike in their quest for improvement.

HEW could not, let me repeat, could not possibly do any worse than the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Interior Department -- unless -- "they did absolutely nothing." However, there is one major stipulation that would have to accompany this change or move, and that is, that present BIA educational personnel must not accompany the move. They have done enough damage. New personnel must be employed and they must be

employed with the help of Indian people, basically Indian educators and Indian community people.

B. The Indian Educational Budget Must Be Increased

Funding for Indian education must be substantially increased to insure progress and provide for future growth and success. It goes without saying that the present BIA budget for Indian education is totally inadequate. Under the present arrangement, the BIA cannot provide "equal educational opportunities" much less "a system of excellence" that was recommended by the recent Senate Subcommittee on Indian education. Funds must be provided to not only improve the existing facilities but to construct new buildings with modern equipment, textbooks and supplies Presently the BIA expends approximately $18 per child per year on textbooks, supplies and materials. This is less than half the appropriate national standard of $40 (using 1969 standards) which have substantially increased. It has also been pointed out that the amount the BIA expends on boarding school students $1,100 (using 1969 figures) per year is drastically low and must be increased at least three-fold, if equal educational opportunity is to exist.

It should be pointed out that <u>equal</u> educational opportunity will never catch up Indian children with non-Indians. The system of Indian education must be improved to a point of unprecedented height, which means the Federal government must stop "penny pinching" and realize that "you can't place a price tag on quality education." Indian people don't need more of the same, which has always been too little and too late, but something different -- they need specially trained teachers and administrators with quality buildings and equipment, they need something totally different, they need their own schools. If the price

of this long sought after goal is high, then so be it, because Indian education will never improve and change until adequate budgets are appropriated to cope with the financial problems that now exist.

C. Indian History and Culture Must be Taught

Beyond ignorance and bigotry there is no valid reason why Indian history and culture should not be included in the curriculum of all Federal Indian schools. If anything is going to stand, whether its a tree, a building, or a man, he must know where he came from and where he is going. For too long Indian people have been denied the right to learn of their history and their cultural heritage. This is a form of outright "genocide" that has been practiced from some 400 years and it is time it was stopped.

The history and culture of individual Indian tribes should be taught within their respective reservation schools. In off-reservation boarding schools comprehensive courses on Indian history and culture should be offered. In regard to Indian languages, they should be regarded as an educational asset and all Indian children should be encouraged to master their own Indian language as well as English. Courses on Indian languages should be offered on the same level as Indian history and culture in both reservation and off-reservation Indian schools.

D. Elementary Boarding Schools Should be Abolished

Elementary boarding schools should be phased out of existence as soon as possible and the cruel practice of placing small children of this tender age in these medieval institutions should be abolished.

Experts in the field of mental behavior have long denounced the practice of placing small Indian children in these schools as a destructive force that does more harm than good. In the field of developmental psychology, there is almost universal agreement that early separation of a child from the family unit causes severe emotional damage.

Although there are reasons, both social and educational for placing children in boarding schools, the majority are placed in these institutions simply because of a lack of available day schools. When asked why more day schools are not available, the Bureau of Indian Affairs states, "they do not have the funds to provide enough day schools." We have adequate funds in the United States Treasury to send men to the moon and back but we do not have adequate funds to provide enough schools for Indian children.

E. Guidance and Counseling Programs Must Be Improved

According to 1972 Interior Department statistics, some 57,000 Indian children are presently enrolled in government schools. Of this number approximately 36,000 are enrolled in boarding schools. Most of the reports indicate that an overwhelming majority of these boarding school students are there bacause of "social" reasons. These students are desperately in need of professional help in guidance and counseling. Yet, according to Senate Subcommittee reports, the ratio of guidance counselors to students is one counselor for every 600 students. The ratio of dormitory aides to students was fixed at one aide for every 100 students.

Within the Federal school system for Indians these two departments are beyond a doubt two of the most important and should contain adequately trained personnel. However, just the opposite has occured.

Not only are these two departments seriously deficient in number but many of the counselors lack professional training and certification. Career and occupational counseling is rarely offered and psychological counseling is practically non-existent.

It goes without saying that these two areas are drastically in need of improvement and change. The number of students per counselor should be reduced to at least one counselor for every 150 students and the number of dormitory aides should be reduced to one aide for every 25 students or less. In the elementary boarding schools there should be at least one aide for every 10 students.

The BIA should institute a crash program to recruit new personnel within these two departments. These people must be professionally trained to cope with the tremendous problems they will face. They should also be given additional pre-service training to acquaint them with the unique problems of Indian boarding school children.

F. Pre-Service Training Programs Must Be Improved

All prospective Indian Service Personnel "teachers, administrators, and staff" should be required to receive special "pre-service" training in Indian history and culture, especially of the Indian tribes indigenous to that area in which they are to work. In addition, all teachers and administrators should be required to receive training of an anthropological-sociological nature and be expected to possess or acquire the linguistic skills necessary for communication with local students and their parents.

In addition to the above, all Indian Service employees should be required to recieve special culturally orientated "in-service" training which should be offered on a year round basis. No BIA employee should

be promoted or advanced in salary unless they have completed the established amount of courses required of these "in-serice" training programs.

G. Indian Schools Should Be Named After Indians

The standard practice of naming Indian schools after famous White men should be abolished immediately. All Indian schools and buildings should be named after famous Indians of the past and present. In cases where Indian schools have already been given non-Indian names, they should be renamed after Indians. In addition, all schools serving Indian children should alter their appearance to that of the Indian environment including "picuteres, murals, and statues, etc."

Additional Recommendations

1. The Bureau of Indian Affairs at the present time provides a limited amount of financial support for Indian students attending colleges. This amount should be increased at least threefold, and Indian boarding school students should be encouraged to attend an institution of higher learning rather than go on relocation.

2. Off-reservation boarding schools in most cases should be closed and the students sent to reservation day schools or public schools.

3. Funds should be appropriated to increase the present number of reservation day schools by twofold. This would not only accommodate the present Indian student population on reservation, but also those students returning from off-reservation boarding schools.

4. All Indian schools should be controlled and directed by Indian school boards democratically elected from Indian people.

5. The Director of Indian Education within the BIA should be an Indian and chosen from Indian people.

6. All Indian schools should be required to use bilingual and bicultural materials reflecting the cultural heritage of American Indians as well as that of the dominate society.

Indian Education Should Be Controlled

By Indian People

The first step in improving Indian education is to give it back to the Indian people, where it belongs. They should control and direct all Indian schools both reservation and off-reservation. Local school boards democratically elected should control reservation schools, and a National Indian School Board democratically elected from Indian educators both from reservations and off-reservations should control off-reservation boarding schools. All teachers, administrators, staff and connecting services should be contracted through Indian tribal groups. They should have full authority to run, direct and control all schools under their supervision. This educational venture should be completely financed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Education.

In spite of the limited amount of experience in this area, Indians have demonstrated that given the opportunity they can do an excellent job. Rough Rock Demonstration School and the Navajo Community College are fine examples of what Indian people can do if given the opportunity. One thing is perfectly clear, they couldn't under any circumstances possibly make any more mistakes than the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Conclusion

In summarizing the last 179 years of Indian education under the auspices of the Federal government, one theme runs throughout, namely, the realization that formal Indian education has fallen far short of its goals. By every standard, Indians today receive the worst education of any children in the country. They are taught by teachers

who are untrained, unprepared and sometimes unwilling to meet their specific needs. They attend shabby, overcrowded schools which in many cases lack even the basic resources to carry on minimum educational instruction.

They are forced to attend off-reservation boarding schools located hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles from their parents and communities. They are taught to be ashamed of their culture, their language, their religion, and their history. They enter school late and usually leave early. The number of Indians who dropout of school is twice that of other American children. Among the adult Indian population approximately two-thirds have not gone beyond the elementary grades, and over one-fourth are functionally illiterate -- they can't read. The educational system has miserably failed American Indians and the Federal government's obligation to provide adequate, or even "equal educational opportunities" has not been fulfilled.

What more can be said? In short, Indian education is a "disaster" -- it is a "national disgrace." At a time when America has been called a "vast Disneyland of affluence," how can the American people tolerate such degradation among any of its citizens -- let alone those who are its rightful heirs?

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ED113066

EASTERN AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITIES

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In 1948, William H. Gilbert, Jr. wrote an article called, "Surviving Indian Groups of Eastern United States."[1] In this article he examined nearly all of the states east of the Mississippi, excluding Michigan and Wisconsin but including Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Missouri and looked at the various Native American communities there. He listed each Indian group, did a population estimate and gave a partial sketch of the community in terms of economy, acculturation, language and so forth. This was the first time that such research had been attempted and it gave us the first overview of the Indian groups of eastern United States. He came out with a total population estimate of somewhere between 75,000 to 100,000.

This study was quite a revelation as these Indians had been hidden for many years; not only hidden but neglected. Most Indian groups in the eastern United States are not well known outside of their local areas and they have tended not to be among the more "colorful" peoples that American anthropologists have studied. Most research on American

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Indians has been done in the western United States, since these are the groups which tend to display more aboriginal traits than do those in the eastern part of the country.

Although Gilbert's research was a revelation, it did not lead to further solid research. Unfortunately his paper, written in 1948, is still the best done in this area. In recent years a few other scholars have looked at these modern Indians in the east, but by and large such scholars have been sociologists looking at population statistics or else interested in caste phenomenon in the southern part of the United States. Recently Sturtevant and Stanley of the Smithsonian have tried to bring Gilbert's research up to date.[2] Later in this paper I want to include their chart, which lists these groups chronologically by state so that the reader can get a notion of the names of these communities, where they are located and what population they have.

One of the problems of native American communities in the eastern United States is the lack of solid information. For instance, in Sturtevant and Stanley's chart some of the names assigned to these groups appear to be names which their local neighbors call them. Some of these names may be in fact pejorative and may not be accepted by the people so named. No one has talked to the people in these communities to find out what, if anything, they call themselves, or what their own name for themselves is. If some of these names are insulting to the people involved our only excuse is, once again, the lack of any solid research in many of these communities.

Social and Cultural Origins

To understand the present situation of eastern Indian communities one can start by looking at the social and cultural origins of these

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groups; the formation of these groups and what used to be referred to in anthropology as their "acculturation"; that is, how did their present style of life and style of community come into being. We must divide the eastern United States into several regions which are not only geographical, but regions within which the same primary contact situation prevailed between Whites and Indians and resulted in conditions which at an early time gave a character to and set a pattern for the later development of these small societies.

The first region is the eastern seaboard. This is the area of the old thirteen colonies and it is in this area that there is the largest group of native Americans in the east, both in the number of distinct groups and in terms of gross population.

When the thirteen colonies were established, each colony tended to determine its own relationship with the Indian groups within its borders. In the 1600's the British had neither developed a consistent Indian policy nor had the Crown taken sole jurisdiction for dealing with Indians as they did later in the 1700's. Contact with Indians and policy regarding Indians varied from colony to colony in response to local conditions. There was an overlap in territory occupied by Whites and Indians in some colonies. There was even an intermingling of settlements. Some colonies would make agreements with Indians regarding land purchase. In some of the southern colonies, even individuals would make agreements with local chiefs about land purchase. Outside of Virginia, most of the Indians on the seaboard were very loosely organized. They lived in small bands and might for a large part of the year live in extended kin groups scattered over a wide hunting territory. Most of these Indians did not have political cohesion nor were they even socially compact, as opposed to the

incoming Whites.

The upshot was that Indians lost the basis of their economy and much of their land base. Further, some colonies like Massachusetts undertook forced acculturation programs under the guise of education and Christianization and this, needless to say, was a further pressure on Indian groups in the area. The result of this kind of contact was a series of disastrous wars between Whites and Indians in the latter part of the 1600's and the early decades of the 1700's. These wars were so disastrous that the Indian population was decimated. It appears that individual Indian families were pushed into submarginal lands in these colonies; not at the margin of the colonies, but internally into swamps, forests and out of the way places. These families were fairly isolated from the rest of the population. There was, of course, some contact with neighbors, probably on a fairly intimate level. It was in this period that most of the Indians on the eastern seaboard learned English well. It was also during this period that Indians began to marry extensively with both Whites and Blacks. One of the results of this decimation of population was that there were very few Indians in any one area and this, no doubt, forced people to pick mates who were either White or Black.

Along about Revolutionary times, a number of things happened. Indians were pulling back together to form more cohesive communities. Population increase was on the upswing in these communities. If one looks at any of these Indian groups on the eastern seaboard, one finds very few family names among them because the original population consisted of very few families. Even such a populous people as the Lumbee Indians of eastern North Carolina, who now number somewhere between 30 and 40,000 probably have something like eighty percent of

the tribe bearing some twenty family names. It is very possible that this very large group of people have descended from some twenty nuclear families.

This kind of population increase sounds nothing short of spectacular, and to the modern person it is, indeed, nothing short of spectacular. However, if one considers the general history of the population increase in America, particularly of the pre-Revolutionary stock of Americans, this by no means is surprising. For instance, most of the people in the United States in the Middle South, the Southwest and most of the lower Middlewest, plus a great deal of the Rocky Mountain area and West Coast are descended from several hundred thousand north Irish who came to the United States before the American Revolution. In other words, it is probably no exaggeration to say that there are a minimum of 50 million people in the United States of north Irish descent who are descended from possibly 300,000 migrants. The spectacular increase of eastern Indian groups is not as surprising as one might think given the general context of population increase in the United States from pre-Revolutionary times up to the present.

By 1800 a great many eastern Indians had come back together as groups and were starting to build solid Indian communities. Now, of course, during the one hundred years previous the language had been lost, probably through the extensive intermarriage with outsiders. The general life style that these communities had developed was very much like that of their White or Black neighbors. Besides original tribes restoring themselves, new intertribal communities had formed. Indians within a region, whether or not they had been members of tribes which were related linguistically or culturally, clustered together. The Lumbee of eastern North Carolina are one such example of a people

who drew membership from the general region of central North Carolina. Many of these original families were probably the last survivors to their small tribe.

In short, most of the Indian communities of the eastern seaboard had, by 1800, assumed the central character both socially and culturally that we see today.

Earlier in the paper I said that most of these groups, by 1800, had come to resemble their neighbors in terms of cultural traits. It is a paradox that many Indian groups in the east are distinctive to the outsider because they have preserved so many early American cultural items from this period of the synthesis of their style of life. Their English, food, farming techniques, certain attitudes, etc. all reflect this "cultural lay."

We should be careful not to interpret the above as an example of "stagnation." Eastern Indian communities are very vital and innovative social wholes. Some of the most spectacular Indian adjustments to the American economy have been created by seaboard Indians. The Gay Head Indians of Martha's Vineyard island in Massachusetts had, in the early part of the 1800's, become expert sailors and whalers. They were sought after by sailing masters in Massachusetts. The character of Tantaquidgeon, Melville's American Indian harpooner in "Moby Dick," was inspired by these Indian whaling experts. In recent years the noted success of the Mohawks in high steel speaks for itself.

The second region is the area just to the west of the coast and the Peidmont. It includes the states of Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, western New York, western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, the western Carolinas, southwest Virginia, north Georgia, north Alabama and Mississippi. I will call this region the inland area for want of a better

word. I have chosen to put northern Florida and southern Alabama into the seaboard region even though these sections are outside of the original thirteen colonies. I am doing this because these sections are old, settled--the northern Gulf Coast. And the same contact situation and subsequent results prevailed in this area as in the eastern seaboard proper. I have chosen to put southern Florida and northern Maine into the inland area even though these sections are geographically part of the eastern seaboard. However, northern Maine and southern Florida are late frontier areas and resemble the interior region in terms of the contact situation. Tribes in these sections are the Passamquoddy, Penobscot and Seminole.

By the time that intensive contact began with the inland tribes, the disastrous Indian wars of the eastern seaboard had come to a close. The British government and the economic interests it represented were becoming more and more involved in the Indian trade and Indians in the interior were becoming harvesters of furs and customers for trade goods. It was at this point in history that the British government began dealing with Indian groups as semisovereigns and initiated a policy of treaty making. Not only did the British government set up a standard policy but they also began to function as the intermediary between the colonies and inland Indian groups.

These inland Indians were different in character than the seaboard peoples. They were always large, more cohesive and more organized tribes; groups like the Iroquois, Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, Shawnees and so forth. After nearly a century of sporadic contact with Whites their cohesion had increased. Moreover, the British treaty making policy certainly contributed further to this development. Some authors, in fact, feel that White contact as a single cultural

force brought into being the great confederation of the Iroquois tribes and the Creek tribes, as well as the later nation building developments of the Cherokees, Choctaws, etc.

The great interior tribes that the American settlers were to meet head on after the Revolution were certainly by this time in history powerful peoples to be reckoned. The history of large interior Indian groups is well known to Americans and it will not contribute to the purpose of this paper to belabor that history except to point out that when the United States became an independent nation and settlers began to pour into the interior of the continent there were some very famous conflicts between advancing settlers and these Indian nationalities. This tension and conflict was finally resolved by the forced removal of most of these interior tribes to what is now the area of Oklahoma and Kansas in the 1830's. Parts of these tribes and entire smaller tribes escaped removal and remained in the area. The eastern Cherokee of North Carolina, the Mississippi Choctaw, the Seminole of Florida and the Iroquois of New York are the prime examples. All of these groups, unlike the seaboard tribes, are recognized as Indians by treaties, laws and statutes of the Federal government.

In recent years reservations have been set aside for these portions of the interior peoples who escaped removal and these Indians are to some extent, particularly the Choctaw, Cherokee and Seminole, "Federal Indians."

The inland tribes held together socially and culturally from early contact times up to the present day. They have remained large cohesive social wholes all through history and have displayed much social and cultural autonomy all through their history. Some of them have taken over many European cultural items and institutions. In

the last century the southern tribes developed a republican style government. Most have become devout Christians. The native language has persisted, however, and the culture traits they have borrowed from Europeans have been placed in the context of the autonomous meanings and experience of these peoples. They are yet among the most "Indian" of the peoples in the United States.

There are, however, Indians in this interior region who are descendents of individual Indian families who came into the area as pioneers along with American White pioneers. Then, in response to the caste system, which became formal in the south and informal in northern areas in this period, they began to group together and form new communities in these frontier regions. For instance, the Melungeons of Tennessee are such a people. They appear to have come into east Tennessee as individual pioneer families from all over the eastern and central sections of Virginia and North Carolina. Then, in the 1830's they began to form a single community in Hancock County, Tennessee. From there, colonies spread out from this original community down the Tennessee Valley into most of the eastern Tennessee counties into neighboring counties of northern Alabama, then westward into the counties of middle Tennessee. Another spurt went northward into southwest Virginia, on into eastern Kentucky and finally into some counties in southern Ohio.

Another group called the Guineas pulled together in West Virginia after migrating from areas further east. They later set up colonies in southern Ohio. Both of these groups recognize their Indian origins but the majority of them think of themselves as a new people, as a racially mixed people. In the case of the Melungeons, they see themselves as a mixture of Portuguese and

and Indian. Their conception of themselves is like that of the Metis of Mannitoba and Saskatchewan, who are descendants of French trappers and Indian women, and also who, in the late 1700's, made new communities around forts, fur trading posts and in fact are a new people. In this sense, the Melungeon's conception of themselves has a historical validity to it. The same holds true for the Guineas in West Virginia. One could also include in this category some groups internal to the eastern seaboard, such as the Wesorts of Maryland and groups in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and so forth. These groups appear to be later communities made up of migrants from the older, but rejuvenated Indian communities in the seaboard region.

Needless to say, the style of life of these groups was very much like that of the typical American frontiersmen of the particular area in which they settled, and this style of life is very little different from that of their present day poor White or Black neighbors.

The third region, which I have arbitrarily designated a region, is Louisianna. Louisianna is a state, an area, which both resembles the eastern seaboard and the inland region. It resembles the eastern seaboard in that the older Indian communities tend to have a similar social history as seaboard Indians--that is, they were decimated in population, scattered in individual family groups and changed a lot through intermarriage. Then began a process of coming together and forming a rejuvenated tribe or perhaps a new tribe made up of individuals from many tribal backgrounds. There are also Choctaws in the area and Coushatta, both of whom are later migrants from Mississippi and Alabama and tend to resemble their fellow tribesmen in Mississippi or Oklahoma.

The fourth area of consideration I am calling the eastern Great

Lakes, which includes the states of Michigan and Indiana. I am excluding Wisconsin from this discussion since most of the Indians in Wisconsin are on Federal reservations and have ties with Minnesota. Michigan and Indiana Indians have a very different social and cultural history, even though the Chippewa are the most numberous tribe throughout the Great Lakes country.

Southern Michigan and Indiana were part of the great interior that I discussed earlier. Tribes in this section were like tribes further south, pressured for removal by the Federal government. Most of the Miamis of Indiana did in fact remove to what is now Oklahoma but a large contingent stayed behind and lived on what were lands of individual chiefs, which had been set aside in the removal for their use. Part of the removal policy was to give lands to individual chiefs so that they and their immediate kin could stay behind while the removal of the rest of their tribe was sanctioned. In the case of the Miamis a much larger contingent stayed behind than the Federal government had no doubt anticipated. At least until 1880 this group of Indians in Indiana were a very cohesive, conservative Indian community. From 1880 on the community started to marry outsiders extensively, lost the language and integrated into the general population, although there is yet a core of people in that section of Indiana today who retain some semblance of a Miami community.

This same process happened in Michigan. The Potowatomie of southern Michigan were pressured for removal. Many of them fled to Canada, some fled to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and formed new communities. But a great many of them were removed to what is now Kansas and some untimately to Oklahoma. One chief did manage to have his band exempted from the policy, Simon Pokaton, and some 300 of the

Pokaton Potawatomie live in scattered individual family groups around southern Michigan. Another group near Battle Creek, Michigan remained behind and the State of Michigan set aside a small state reservation for them. Most of these groups remained conservative Indians for many years. In recent times, however, that cohesion was lessened by the general urban development in southern Michigan. One can imagine the impact that the 20th century midwestern agricultural and industrial development has had on these very scattered, loosely structured people. Now there are probably very few people of either band who are able to speak the Potowatomie language.

Northern Michigan, the northern section of the lower peninsula, and the upper peninsula was largely ignored by the Federal government and by White settlers in the last century. Treaties were made with groups of Ottawa and Chippewa, but only four reservations were set aside. In the lower peninsula, the reservation near Mt. Pleasant, originally Chippewa, was allotted to individuals, opened and integrated into a state stystem many years ago. There are three more reservations in the northern peninsula, but none of these reservations have the land base necessary to support the band members much less for the many other Chippewa and Ottawa bands in the northern part of the State.

After 1900, the lumber industry, tourism and new settlers simply moved in on the Ottawa and Chippewa in this area and in a very short time between 1900 and 1930, a rapid acculturation took place. Very few Chippewa in Michigan, now under forty, are able to speak the native language. There is one notable exception--the Lac Vieux Desert Chippewa community in the northern peninsula. This settlement both speaks the native language and practices the native Chippewa religion and is quite a contrast culturally to the rest of the Chippewa and Ottawa in the

State of Michigan.

The Chippewa and Ottawa of northern Michigan appear to be going through a period of cultural and social disorientation at this juncture in their history after having existed for many years in isolation with a fairly independent and autonomous economy. They have simply been overwhelmed by the influx of settlers, lumber companies, tourist cabins, etc. Members of these tribes are now living in large numbers in cities like Detroit and the smaller cities of Michigan.

These four geographical areas, as the reader has probably surmised, are in fact not geographical areas at all. They are areas in which a common contact situation has tended to produce a common social and cultural complextion to the Indian communities in each area.

The Culture of Eastern Indian Communities

If we look at most eastern Indian communities and their style of life in terms of items or traits, we find very little that is distinct from their White or Black neighbors. It is a middle-class American bias to tend to hold "human nature" constant, to say "everyone is basically the same," and to see the distinctiveness of peoples in terms of items or traits. In some sense, even the most sophisticated analysis of form is still external to the people themselves. For instance, if you would ask a local White in Mississippi if there were any distinctive items of Choctaw life, he would probably be hard put to name any particular traits. The most obvious one, of course, is the language. Perhaps he would point to the ceremonial ball playing and some of the dances performed at the Choctaw fair, but these traits have become modern symbols of Choctaw identity and are not meaningful in the same way as they were one hundred years ago. The Choctaw today

are committed Christians; they are cotton farmers; the children go to school; they dress primarily in American clothing; they drive automobiles and so forth.

These same Whites, however, would tell you that the Choctaws are a very different people from either the Whites or the Blacks in this same region. They may interpret this difference in the separate natures of the races, in the "blood;" but they do know that the Choctaws are a distinct people. In this sense, even racists are more astute observers than liberal middle class Whites, although they may come to a racist conclusion about their observations. They are not blinded by the liberal idealogy which states that all men are basically the same and differences are really externals. Liberal middle class Whites would probably interpret the Choctaw behavior as an example of "deprivation" or "the culture of poverty" since they could see no obviously different cultural items to signal them that the Choctaws are culturally distinct.

Quite a few years ago, Robert Redfield wrote a paper called "The Folk Society" in which he postulated that a great many small communities of the world resemble each other in certain ways. He looked at those features shared in common by these small communities, features which contrasted with characteristics of modern urban life. Then having distilled these common characteristics in apposition to modern life, Robert Redfield conceptualized a type of society which he called a folk society and presented it as an ideal type. In this sense, ideal does not mean perfect but in the scientific sense of extreme. He said,

> Such a society (the folk society) is small, isolated, non-literate and homogeneous with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalized into that coherent system which we call 'a culture.' Behavior is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical and personal. There is no legislation or

> habit of experiment and reflection for intellectual ends. Kinship, its relationships and institutions, are the type categories of experience and the familial group is a unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular, the economy is one of status rather than of the market."[3]

Many peoples of the world approach this characterization: peasant villages, Appalachian mountaineers, even the working class in cities to some degree, but in this ideal form, it probably applies most characteristicly to those people in the world we call tribal. Among those, of course, are the various American Indian groups who come closer to this ideal type folk society than do most West African or inner Asian tribals. In fact, there are very few peoples of the world who would approach this ideal type as closely as American Indian tribal groups.

Robert Redfield described this society in terms of its characteristics. One need only know what it means for a human being to be part of this kind of society. For instance, one of Redfield's characteristics is that behavior is traditional. What he means by tradition in this case is not outmoded custom, as many lay Americans think of it. He thinks of tradition as a body of knowledge, prescriptions, rules and cues external to the person, which a group of people have worked out over the years as best allowing them to live with one another and with an external environment.

If tradition guides life for such an individual he looks outside himself for guides and cues. He is not a person who has motivations nor does he have a lack of motivations. He is a person for whom the word motivation is inappropriate. He is a person who responds to the external environment and this includes the people around him who tend not to have internal guides and controls. In the modern middle-class sense, this description seems rather negative. However, on the

positive side, this is a person who is extremely sensitive and observant to what goes on around him. If there is one feature about American Indians on which observers have commented, it is the Indian ability to observe what goes on around him.

Redfield characterized behavior in the ideal folk society as personal. Personal behavior in this sense does not mean friendly necessarily. It means that your relationships with others are wholistic, unique, particular and the people with whom you have these relationships tell you who you are, in fact. The closest thing that we in the urban world have to these kinds of relationships are with very close friends and with family.

A great deal of our relationships in the urban world are not personal, but categorical. We deal with strangers in standardized role functions such as waitresses, cab drivers, colleagues, etc. Our definition of ourselves tends to be not from other people, but from our own actions--our goals, our occupations, our roles and their symbols, etc. Men who live in a folk world are defined by other persons. In most American Indian groups, both in aboriginal times and today, these other persons who give definition to the individual, who tells one who he is, are relatives. Redfield says, "Kinship, its relationships and institutions, are the type categories of experience and the familial group is a unit of action." In other words, such an individual is immersed in his relations with his relatives. He is committed to his relatives emotionally because they are, in fact, definitive of him. To lose one's relatives is to lose one's self.

This is not to say that in the many folk-like groups in the world, young men do not stray from the home village. Certainly this is not true of young American Indians and many go into the city to work. But this is usually seen as a temporary expediency and the point of

reference is those relatives. Such a person sees his contribution in the world in terms of those relatives. He sees what we will leave behind him in the world in terms of those relatives. If you are your relatives and your relatives are you, which is the case in most extreme folk societies, then one simply is who one is. The job of being is completed. There is no person to become or to fulfill.

Such a thing as career motivation, for instance, is meaningless to those who live in such a world. The idea that there is a self which improves or else stagnates or disintegrates has no meaning. The self is fixed and it is completed for such people. One can imagine that in such a society where persons are so closely tied to one another and where everyone defines everyone else that good relationships between people are an absolute necessity for the pyschic well being of each individual. Societies which approach our ideal type folk society put a great value on harmony is generalized out to all aspects of life--to the natural world and the supernatural world. This kind of person lives in an ordered and reciprocal universe, like his own social world, which is held together by harmony and good feelings among all its "parts."

A tribe as a human community is more than simply an ideal folk society. There are certain features that tribal communities have in common which marks them off as a special kind of ideal folk society. One of these is that most tribal people live in a closed, bounded world. That is to say, notions about the nature of the world are shared only among this group of relatives. A tribal group <u>is</u> a group of relatives. It is a group of relatives who are descended in an unbroken line from time immemorial of other relatives. It is their own experience and their own interpretation of the world that is <u>the</u> interpretation of the world for people in a tribal group. In other words, an individual who

is a member of an "ideal" tribe takes into account the definition of his relatives and does not take into account the definitions of outsiders. They make sense of the world in their own terms, not in the terms of others. The word most tribals have for themselves is either simply "people" or, in more humanistic tribes, the "real people." The definitions of outsiders, the ideas of right and wrong of outsiders and the reactions of outsiders may be either legitimate, strange or funny, but they belong to outsiders and not to the people.

Another characteristic of tribal people as a special category of folk societies is that they are very responsive to a particular natural environment, and a great deal of the life way of a tribal group has grown up in response to that particular environment. But tribals do more than simply respond to a natural environment; they integrate into a natural environment and almost become part of that environment.

Such categories as the supernatural and the natural and human are categories foreign to tribal thinking. Since tribal people interact with and are relative to a particular natural environment, their historical experience has been particular. A tribal group does not conceive of itself as "tribal" nor as having much to do with another tribal group, nor are there felt to be broad areas of commonality, except as seen by the outside scientific observer. A tribe occurs in the particular. A tribe is a particular people with a strong sense of peoplehood, of peopleness. For instance, one cannot discuss the Choctaws as a tribal group in terms of the general features of tribal groups without doing violence to that particular tribalness of the Choctaw people's experience over time.

The notions that any particular tribal people have developed from their experience with an environment are thought of as "in the nature

of things." They are natural and given. Most times these notions are conceptualized as a series of definitive statements about the nature of the world and the nature of "the people's" place in that world. When a Cherokee woman "scolds" her child by saying, "The Cherokees don't make a lot of racket" she is reporting a fixed, given, natural fact. A fact which is as definitive of "the real people" as saying, "The Cherokees live in the woods, not out on the prairie."

There are very few Indian groups in the United States who are as yet tribal in the sense that we have described tribal. Most Indian groups now are much more open, they see themselves as part of a larger whole than simply their relatives, are less particular as a people, more generalized and therefore, less tribal in the way we are describing it. Eastern Indians are no exception to this rule and the majority of eastern Indian communities are not as tribal as their ancestors. Surprisingly, there are some residual features left of this old tribal state. Although eastern Indian groups are not now bounded, they are still very particular in their environment and although open still very particular peoples. What is probably surprising is that there are in the eastern part of the United States some Indian groups which are among the most tribal in the United States, namely the Seminole, the Choctaw, some of the North Carolina Cherokee and the Coushattas of Louisiana.

One could set up a typology of eastern Indian groups in terms of continuity with ancestors. We could put in the first category people who are very tribal and who preserve the most continuity with their ancestors. These are groups like those which were previously named, the Coushattas of Louisiana, the Choctaw of Mississippi, some of the North Carolina Cherokee and the Seminole of Florida. One of the

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indices of this tribalness is the extensive uses of the native language and the presence of Indian medicine men or native curers. The use of the native language usually indicates that the people are simply oriented to one another to the exclusion of outsiders. Further, it means that the experience of that social group through time, the way in which the world is divided up into categories and the way in which the world is conceived, is still within the "heads" of those people.

English is not a language to which the Choctaw experience, as a people, can be easily transferred. The use of the native language means that the experiencial world is still very much intact and is still the world which is lived in; if the native language is the language of the community and the language of the home, even if people are able to speak fairly acceptable English. Further, the use of the native language not only "preserves," but also contains the person in that particular experiencial world and, to some degree, is an insulation and a protection from the cultural imperialism of the dominant experiencial world which is expressed in the English language.

The presence of Indian doctors is usually a sign that the sacred, integrated, wholistic, magical world is still very alive for those people and that they still live in that world or as modern young people would put it, "that's the bag they come out of." Of all the tribes listed in this category, the Florida Seminole must be among the most conservative, traditional and tribal of American Indian groups. They are not only very tribal, very particularisticly Seminole who live in a sacred world, but they also have retained a great many of the external forms of their ancestors, such as the aboriginal religion, ceremonies, social organizations, etc.

The second grouping would be what I would call tribals in

transition. These are the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potowatomie of northern Michigan who, until recently, were very isolated tribal groups and who have almost been overwhelmed by the influx, in a very short time, of urban American into their area. These communities evidence a great many social ills such as alcoholism, family breakdown, etc.

There are other tribals in transition. A minority of the Miccosukkee who live on Federal reservations, are going through a social turmoil. There are other groups such as the Tunicas of Louisiana who are also going through a transition, but without such dire social consequences. What will be the outcome of this transition for these tribal groups is yet to be seen.

The third category consists of those groups which have ideologized their tribalness. In some sense, such groups are very urban tribals, if such a thing is conceptionally possible and I would imagine, resemble the Jews in the time of the Bablyonian captivity. I am thinking particularly here of the Iroquois tribes, who have preserved a great deal of the aboriginal trait complexes of their ancestors, particularly their religion, but reinterpreted by their famous prophet Handsome Lake into a less tribal and more modern urban religious system. His reforms created a religion that was less magical, more oriented to individual choice and conscience, more ethical and proscriptive, etc. Many of the Iroquois have used this native institution to stablize their lives.

A fourth type of Indiam community is very common in the eastern United States and is particularly evident on the eastern seaboard. These are tribes or Indian groups which, after almost being wiped out, have had a period of resurgence as a people. These are the tribal groups in southern New England, on Long Island, the Nanticokes in

Delaware, the tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy in eastern Virginia and so on. As I said in an earlier section, the native language of these groups has not been spoken since the revolution. The Catawbas of South Carolina are an exception and preserved their native language almost up until 1900. For most seaboard groups, the native language and the old institutional forms--religious, political and social forms--were abandoned by revolutionary times. The extensive intermarriage with Whites and Blacks during this period probably contributed to the loss of aboriginal traits and items of culture.

In the economic sphere, particularly in the Virginia tribes, one sees the retention of many aboriginal traits in hunting techniques and economy since these tribes were, until recently, still dealing with the natural environment as hunters, trappers, fishermen and gardeners.[4] By and large, the items of aboriginal culture have long since disappeared but the continuity of their particularity as a people through time has remained.

The fifth category of communities having a continuity with ancestors are what I would call reconstituted groups. These are groups like the Lumbees, Haliwas and so forth, who are intertribal amalgams; that is to say, people from different tribes in the same region who came together to form a new people. But their peoplehood is certainly as strong as the peoplehood of the older, more established tribes.

The sixth category I would call the displaced groups, like the Melungeons of east Tennessee, the Guineas of West Virginia, the Wesorts of Maryland and other such groups in the middle Atlantic states. These groups seem to be communities which formed when mixed blood Indians of various backgrounds came together in response to their social exclusion. Many of the groups in this category seem to be in the process

of assimilation. A few of the Melungeon communities have a stronger identity as Indians than other communities in the same category. They refer to themselves as Indians. At present we need some more data to establish the cause of this phenomenon. It could be the result of the resurgence of "Indianess" generally in the country today. All of these are possibilities, but all are speculations. However, the fact that these are very folk-like communities and communities of kin, are factors that in themselves will tend to retard assimilation even after the original cause of community formation, that is the social exclusion, disappears.

The seventh category that I have listed here is city Indians. This simply is a category of people who now live in very different circumstances than their ancestors. Since they have recently migrated from many diverse communities, making special adaptations to the city, it is almost impossible to say anything about them as a group. For instance, what a Mississippi Choctaw is experiencing in Chicago is certainly very different from what a Melungeon from east Tennessee is experiencing in Chicago. This grouping is a convenient category, which is not really related to continuity with ancestors but is simply here to point out the beginning of a new social process the effects of which will probably be seen in later years. Perhaps city Indians will develop into a social type in the United States in future years. Certainly city eastern Indians have no separate social distinctiveness except in the case of the Lumbee, who have a very large colony in Baltimore. Most other Indian migrants from communities are scattered out in large cities and are as apt to interact with western Indians, as with "hillbillies," Blacks and people from other eastern communities.

Eastern Indians have been trickling into cities, like other rural

Americans, for many years now. Since World War II they, like other Indians, have flooded into cities as economic refugees. Over the years, a great many individuals and families have been assimilated, some into White society and a few into Black society. However, although city Indians are not yet a solid community in the city, urban Indian social life is beginning to develop and assimilation is slowing down. It may disappear altogether as a significant process if Indians in cities develop a real community. There are some indications that such a community and community life might develop in the cities in the future.

This does not mean that city eastern Indians are not having an impact on the general Indian scene in the eastern part of the United States and on their individual home communities. Certainly such is not the case and not only are many Indians moving to cities, but city life is moving to Indians. For instance, the area of southern New England is becoming generally an urban area so that it is very hard to speak of rural areas in eastern Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. The same is true in other parts of the eastern United States.

Many country Indians from eastern Indian communities who now live in cities have begun to form organizations. For instance, there is an organization of Virginia Indians who now live in the Delaware river valley Pennsylvania. As I mentioned earlier, there is a large Lumbee community in Baltimore. There are many eastern Indians living in the Boston area and they are in the process of forming Indian organizations and developing an Indian center on the model of other cities in the United States. The same is true of New York--there is a Mohawk colony in New York City, in Brooklyn, the very famous one of Mohawk steelworkers.

So the urban world is intruding more and more into the life of the Eastern Indian.

Urban influence is coming to eastern Indian communities by three major routes. One, a great many rural Indian people are simply moving to the cities; some of them stay permanently, others are returning home with what they have learned in the city. Some of these people are, as stated above, becoming "citified" enough to form voluntary organizations, such as the association of the Virginia Indians of the Delaware valley, Indian centers, Indian organizations and so forth.

The second influence is the general urbanization of what were formerly rural areas such as in southern New England. The third route is, at least among the Lumbee, by the development of a native middle class and a high educational level.

There appears to be two major results of this urbanization. One is that in southern New England Indian community life is becoming more and more secular so that local churches as significant institutions around which people have built the life of their communities are becoming more and more eroded. The second obvious result is that many young eastern Indians from cities and from the Iroquois and Lumbee areas, are becoming more and more militant and nationalistic.

Urban Whites tend to find it strange that urban experience would tend to cause a militancy and many sociologists have given us explanations of rising expectations and so forth as a reason for rising militancy when people become more and more urban influenced. However, the simple fact is that rural Indians, by and large, are simply "out of it" and stand apart from the general society in a great many ways, whereas city Indians and very educated country Indians see themselves as part of American society and of course not only expect better

treatment but see the possibility of better treatment by the general society. If they were not part of the "system" they would not be objecting so much to their treatment by the system. The other factor which gives rise to this militance is that urban middle-class people put a great value on controlling their own destiny as individuals and as members of communities. They see themselves unjustifiably controlled, discriminated against and excluded by the society of which they are a part. A society which seems to hold out the promise of free choice, freedom and responsibility to everyone except themselves. Such is an intolerable condition for a middle-class urban person of whatever color or ethnic background.

The "Problems" of Eastern Indian Communities

In this section, I would like to delineate four problems areas which I think most native Americans of the eastern United States, as well as knowledgeable outsiders, would both agree were problems for these communities.

The first problem area is simply that eastern Indians resemble poor people wherever you find them in the United States. They do not have enough resources and enough money to have a decent standard of living. They are underdevloped. They are poor people who live in poor areas. This is particularly true in the southern United States.

Historically, eastern Indians were pushed into economically marginal areas and most of these communities have a very little land base and a very insecure land base. There are some eastern Indian communities which have Federal reservations. The North Carolina Cherokees live on a Federal reservation, as do many of the Seminole tribe of Florida and the Choctaws in Mississippi. Three Chippewa

groups have three small reservations in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Other groups have state reservations; such as the Passamquoddys and Penobscots in Maine, the Paquots in Connecticut, the Pamunkey and Mattaponi in Virginia. The Iroquois in New York live on reservations held in trust by the state but sanctioned by treaty with the United States.

Most of these reservations, either state or Federal reservations, are not large enough to use as a resource. Most of the reservations are hardly big enough for homesteads. The majority of eastern Indians are either tenant farmers or independent small farmers who farm plots of land to which they have an uncertain title. Some groups are simply squatters on land. Except for the tribes on Federal reservations eastern Indians receive no special Federal services from the Department of the Interior. The majority of the Indian groups in the east are simply part of the general citizenry of the State or county insofar as special services go and are, unfortunately, a very neglected portion of the general citizenry.

Eastern Indians are uneducated and unskilled. For economic success in American society they certainly have an extremely low level of education; the Lumbees being the exceptions as well as the New York Iroquois. Their population is increasing; many of them are getting pushed into cities as economic refugees, ill prepared to compete in the maelstrom of city life in the United States.

Secondly, in most areas eastern Indians face very severe racial discrimination. This discrimination was overt several years ago. In the South, certainly in local areas where Indians lived, Indians were excluded from restaurants, were not allowed to go to school with Whites and faced not only discrimination, but that kind of economic

exploitation which usually goes along with discrimination. In these days overt discrimination is not as blatant, but the discrimination in jobs and economic exploitation is still very strong and the covert pressure against Indians in schools and public institutions is still felt in most areas.

The third main problem area is that most eastern Indian communities are effectively excluded from the institutions which govern their lives. This is true on Federal Indian reservations and it is true in Indian communities not on Federal reservations. Indians who are legally integrated into the general society are simply excluded from local county institutions and state institutions. Whether this be because of discrimination or whether because Whites have gotten their "firstest with the mostest" and have grabbed and kept institutional power is beside the point. The fact remains that Indians are effectively excluded from the institutional complexes which govern their lives.

One of the features of the segregation system in the South before school integration, was that Indians had separate schools and some Indian communities were able, because of this fact, to assume control of that institution. This is particularly true of the Lumbee, who developed a native middle-class which ran the Lumbee schools in the area. Their area had a four way segregation system--Whites, Blacks, Lumbees and another group of Indian migrants from South Carolina called Smilings. Lumbees were a big enough group to gain control of the school system and to use it to develop a professional class. Their schools were an institution which they could "parley" into some political power. In recent years, the Lumbees have reacted negatively to school integration in their section of North Carolina. Certainly part of this reason was

that they had spent so much time and effort in building this school system. Also, the social fact of the school system was a recognition of the Lumbee as a distinct community. But more than that, many Lumbees saw school integration as a taking away of part of the institutional power they had developed.

The only institution most eastern Indians have that is their own is the local, rural Protestant church and it has been this institution around which they have built their lives, cohesion and continuity as a social group.

The fourth problem area is one of social legitimacy. This is not a big problem for the large inland tribes like the Choctaw, Seminole, Cherokee, Iroquois or even the Michigan tribes, but it is certainly a problem for most of the seaboard tribes. American Whites have a tendency to classify people as individuals into occupational, class or racial categories and then relate to them accordingly. Certainly in the urban world, life would be more simple and more consistent if everybody stayed in their assigned categories. Further, Americans tend to see aggregates of individuals rather than peoples or communities. Of course, community is a word which is thrown around very loosely these days. We hear of the scholarly community, the business community, the Black community. Usually these are simply class, racial or occupational categories with very little social reality. They may even mean administrative units like the Chicago community or the North Side community. But a community is more than these things. It is a group of people living together over time, dealing together with an environment, raising their children together, developing institutions together and sharing life together.

Further, since the United States as a society is made up of people

of diverse ethnic backgrounds, many Americans tend to confuse the notion of a community with the citizenry and boundary of a nation-state. Indeed, in many parts of the world, nation-state boundaries are coterminous with the boundaries of a particular peoples, such as France or Japan. And this fact only confuses the issue for modern Americans. Most social groups of the world who consider themselves peoples are groups which feel themselves to be descendents of common ancestors, to face together common problems, to have a common destiny, are committed to those others around them whom they feel to be part of their peoplehood and are equally committed to their ancestors and their own descendants. This committment is not a matter of choice, it simply is. Such is the case with the majority of Indian groups in eastern United States as well as other American Indian groups. They see a continuity over time between their ancestors and their descendants.

Now since most Americans "see" niether communities nor peoples, they cannot see eastern Indians. When they look at Indian communities of the eastern seaboard they tend to see an aggregate of individuals who live a life style very much like poor Blacks and poor Whites, without speaking an Indian language or showing any obvious aboriginal traits. Further, they see an aggregate of individuals who exhibit both White and Negro physical characteristics, as well as Indian. Therefore, they try to classify these individuals into the racial category of Negro, particularly in the South, or think of this group as having its origins in a mixture between these three races and refer to them as perhaps "mixed bloods."

There are a few communities in the eastern United States who do conceive of themselves as having their origin in an initial racial intermixture. In fact, some of the Melungeon communities of east

Tennessee, the Guineas of West Virginia, the Sabines of Louisiana, at least to Whites, present themselves as communities which came into being as a result of racial intermixture. Such communities, however, are a very small minority of eastern Indian groups.

Most groups conceive of themselves and present themselves to outsiders as legitimate historic Indian groups. But since White Americans can see no obvious Indian cultural traits among many of these groups and perceive a large amount of incorporation of foreign blood into these groups, they are dubious of such a claim. They take the attitude that the claim of being Indian is fraudulant and that the community's Indian identity is simply a way, in many cases, to escape the disability of being classified as Negroes. To Whites in some areas of the South the term "Indian" has simply come to mean a middle ground caste or status group which contains not only people of Indian blood, but those who are neither Black or White as well as mixtures of Black and White.

Eastern seaboard Indians are no longer as closed and bounded a group as their ancestors were. They are, after all, English speakers. They lead a style of life and have a great many cultural items in common with their White neighbors. They have been legally integrated into the fabric of American society for many years, perhaps as second class citizens, but at least functionally as part of the society that surrounds them. They are not completely separate communities; their lives are now intertwined with those of their White and Black neighbors.

Many American Indians from other areas that eastern Indians meet view them in the same light as do their White neighbors. More urbanized Indians in other parts of the United States have their own identity

problems and the problem of rank and respectability vis a vis the general society. Such Indians are sometimes threatened by the spector of possible Negro blood in an Indian group so that their own identity and concerns about acceptance by Whites are aggravated and are called into question by Indians from eastern seaboard communities. Many of the younger members of eastern seaboard Indian communities now living in cities, feel that they have to prove that they are super-Indians. This fact partially accounts for their participation in such militant moves as the recent occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington and the Wounded Knee "uprising."

American scholars, by and large, have not been helpful in assisting eastern Indians solve their identity dilemmas and most have, in fact, contributed to an opposite process. For instance, some historians and social scientists have assumed, like most of their fellow Americans, that western seaboard Indian communities formed as an attempt to escape the disabilities of the caste system and being classed as Negroes. This simply is incorrect. Most eastern seaboard Indian communities were formed in the 1700's at a time when the caste system had not yet come into existence in the United States and when intermarriage between the races was much more "free and easy" than it was in later days. Assimilation was certainly possible for many individual Indians in those days even if they were part Black. Many present day White Americans proudly boast that they are of part Indian ancestory, usually Cherokee. However, if one looks closely at their family background, one finds that their Indian great grandmother, more often than not, came from the eastern seaboard and married their great grandfather during a period of history after which eastern seaboard Indians had incorporated large amounts of foreign blood. So individual

assimilation was certainly possible. The caste system had not yet come into existence and it is clear that the formation of these communities was centered around the Indian component of this "mixed population."

Historically, particularly in the South in the last century, eastern seaboard Indian groups fought long and hard not to be classed as Blacks and to have special schools set up for their children. This struggle on the part of eastern seaboard Indians was a move to maintain their own separate identity and a fight for social survival as much or more than it was a resistance to being placed in a low rank position by the general society.

Unfortunately, many American academics, historians, anthropologists, sociologists and the like tend to assume, probably because of their own life history, that considerations of rank lies behind all of human behavior. Rank, of course, is important in modern society but it can never explain all of the human beings. Even when rank concerns are obvious other concerns interact with rank concerns in any particular human situation. The concern for social survival and the resistance to the threat of social death is an overriding concern for small minority peoples within a large nation-state.

Needless to say, in the United States rank and respectability are an important part of personal identity and a group's identity. Rank concerns <u>are</u> important to eastern Indians. They want to be separate, distinct communities. They want to be Indian communities and they want a respectable rank for their community within the context of the general society. And, of course, part of this concern with rank comes out in the way they deal with the presence of Negro ancestry in the group. Some groups are threatened by Negroes and a few are

very anti-Negro. Many of these groups, in fact, deny that they have any Negro ancestry.

This problem of social legitimacy is more serious in those eastern seaboard Indian communities which had their origin as amalgams of different tribal groups. For instance, the Lumbee of North Carolina very much feel the lack of a historic validation for their community identity and over the last hundred years have cast around, searching for a name which both legitimatizes and expresses their identity. Since 1870, they have called themselves successively Croatans, Robeson County Cherokees, Siouan Indians, Lumbees, and recently some of their group are presenting theirselves as Tuscaroras. Over the years, no sooner have they adopted a name which they felt valid and expressed their identity than local Whites managed to make a joke of the name, made it appear fraudulant and twisted it so that it became an oblique reference to Negro background. For instance, Croatan became Crow to local Whites with the inplication of "black as a crow" and the further implication that this was a group of Negroes posing as Indians.

Many smaller groups in eastern United States have simply adopted the name Cherokee to refer to their group which does not endear them to North Carolina Cherokees or Oklahoma Cherokees. But all of these groups are firm in their identity as Indians. Even if they are intertribal amalgams or simply a community which does not recall their Indian name, they have a strong local identity as a separate and distinct people.

A few such groups, like the "Moors" of Delaware and the "Cubans" of North Carolina present themselves to Whites as being partially descended from Latins or North Africans as the names imply; thus

explaining away and making respectable the presence of non-White and non-Indian ancestry. How much this identification with Latins and North Africans have replaced identification with Indians remains to be seen. There are some indications that this identification is simply a public fact to Whites to satisfy the demands of respectability and that, in fact, people in such groups still think of themselves as basically an Indian group. It is clear, however, even with the small amount of data we have at our disposal, that all eastern Indian communities think of themselves as separate, distinct peoples very local and particular to an area and recognize their Indian origin even if they publicly stress their "Latin" roots or even think of themselves as a new people.

So far in this section I have been considering the problems of eastern Indians and I have divided those into four categories. The first is the problem of underdevelopment. I have said that eastern Indians are landless, by and large without resources, poor, uneducated, unskilled, farming submarginal land of questionable title, caught up in the cycle of poorly paid wage labor, poverty and welfare payments, etc. In other words in this area of problems, they resemble the people of the southern Appalachians.

The second problem area is discrimination and exploitation--discrimination to the point of outright physical coercion in some sections of the deep South, notably Mississippi and Louisiana, and with a general exploitation of their labor and remaining resources. Once again, the northeast is an exception to this rule.

I designated the third problem area as a general powerlessness and an exclusion from institutions that govern their own lives. In this regard, all eastern Indians share in this feature of life and

the northeast is no exception to this rule.

The fourth category of problems I have called the problem of social legitimacy, accompanied by the problem of social survival, of group identity erosion, and concerns of respectability and rank. In other words, eastern Indians generally have all the problems of a poor racial minority with a semi-colonial relationship to the general society. Added to this is the general problem of legitimacy of identity, particularly strong in the eastern seaboard and Louisiana's groups.

There are, however, some positive features of eastern Indian life which probably more than overbalance the negative features. By and large these are strong, stable, cohesive communities. They have survived as distinct peoples under impossible conditions which attests to their strength as peoples. Further, their struggle in the crucible of modern America has probably contributed to their strength and cohesion. Most eastern Indians, regardless of poverty, discrimination, powerlessness, and a problematical group identity lead a fairly good life. Certainly these communities are cohesive, stable and harmonious social wholes. The only exception to this rule are the Chippewa, Potowatomie, and Ottawa of Northern Michigan and those of the Miccosukkee who live on Federal reservations in Florida. This social stability of eastern Indians contrasts markedly with Indian communities in the western section of the United States where many reservations are plagued with alcoholism, crimes of violence, the breakdown of the family, and even teenage suicide in a few cases. All of these are indices of very deep social trouble in a great many American Indian rural groups as well as in the lives of many urban Indians.

I think it behooves me in this paper to comment on this contrast and to suggest some seasons for such a contrast. It is obvious to most observers that tribal people who have recently come into contact with western civilization are not faring well. In southeast Asia tribal people have been dislocated and pushed into urban areas. In Africa tribals have come in large numbers to cities where they are controlled by Whites, and to the Black cities of newly independent Africa and so on around the world. When we consider the nature of the ideal folk society, the tribe and the kind of people who live in these kinds of societies, we can readily see what the requirements for social stability are.

To begin with, a tribal person is not a self-contained, autonomous person who makes choices about his own self, his environment, and his individual destiny apart from others. He does not wind his way through the world toward some distant personal goal. He does not balance and jockey alternatives. He does not control and create his own self and the world around him. He does not plan and live in the future. He does not "take advantage of opportunities". He doesn't even see them. He does not analyze and secularly work for a better world. He is not even aware he is responsible for his own self and the condition of the world around him.

Persons who "do" all of the above, who are that kind of being, are products of urban life. The city and urban life may be a lonely sea of faceless strangers, inconsistent, dangerous, and perhaps largely irrelavent but most of all, it is a cafeteria of opportunity to bring into being, to <u>become</u>, for the urban personality. And it is this kind of man who has developed and manned the great American institutional structure which has made the United States the richest

and most technologically powerful society in the world today.

Needless to say, modern urban life as an environment is organized on the basis of stranger and categorical role relationships with its inconsistencies, conflicts, abrasive interactions, conflicting cues and signals and where behavior can have dire consequences so that every individual must be held responsible for his own actions. One can imagine what such an environment does to most individual tribals. And one only has to look at tribals in cities around the world to verify what logically follows from the above analysis.

Rural tribals have been able to adjust to civilization in many parts of the world and throughout recorded history. When tribal groups have had the autonomy to be able to use their own institutions or to develop new institutions so they could learn together as communities about their new environment, a civilization, then they have been able to make adjustments to the outside and handle the internal effects brought about by the presence of that outside force.

However, very few American Indian groups have had the above option. On most Federal reservations, the governmental agencies have perhaps unwittingly destroyed all the previous institutional structures and have allowed no new institutions to develop. So called tribal governments are creations of the Federal governments--set up by urban people who do not value harmony in human relationships, as reflected by such secular nations as individual and secret balloting, majority rule and representation by geographical area instead of kin group. Such outside created structures have been simply dropped on the heads of Indians and not only function as the internal arm of the Federal government, but are socially destructive as well to Indians. Most reservation Indians do not even have control of their religious

institutions. The older native religion has been so attacked as to be discredited and Whites still control Indian churches on most reservations.

Without autonomous institutions on reservations, great Federal bureaucracies have simply created the worst features of the urban environment for the individual tribal to be overwhelmed by. Individual Indians are thus involved in rational, secular, analytic, categorical, planned programs which fragment their lives, create bad feelings among kin and bring confusions, doubts, alternatives, feelings of incompetence and impotence into their lives. These small tribal societies have thus begun to disintegrate socially and so begins the downward spiral of alcoholism, family breakdown and the like. To my mind, the schools are the worst offenders in this process. A similar process is now taking place among those Miccosukee in Florida who live on Federal reservations.

In upper Michigan a related process is happening. Indians in upper Michigan are scattered out in family groups amidst an increasingly urbanizing environment. They are excluded from the institutions that govern their lives and even their churches are controlled by local Whites. Further, they are very hurt by the unkindness shown to them by their White neighbors whom they respect and feel a part of. It is small wonder that Indian life in upper Michigan is starting the long downhill slide.

Eastern Indian groups, as a whole, have been very lucky in being able to escape this social breakdown. And as I said earlier they are, by and large, very stable and cohesive communities. I would hypothesize a number of factors which account for this fortunate condition.

Firstly, I think that most eastern Indian tribes very early made

an adjustment to the American civilization in a time when it was less powerful, less all pervasive and less urban than it now is. Secondly, most eastern groups have been relatively isolated from the time of that initial adjustment up until the present day.

Thirdly, and most importantly, eastern Indians have been able to use their local churches to build their life around and thus compensate for any outside social erosion. These institutions have provided the sacred sanction and necessary cohesion for a stable community life. Some of the Iroquois in New York have been able to use their reformed native religious life in this same manner. But for most of the others the cement of life has been the local Indian version of Protestantism and their small community church.

In a large sense, Christianity has been a replacement for the older fixed, given tradition of aboriginal times. A Choctaw minister once said to me, "Way back in the days of the old Choctaw Nation times (their Golden Age) we made Christianity the Choctaw way and the Choctaw tradition." And, indeed, Christianity among the Choctaw appears to be just that--Choctaw Christianity. I am sure, as an anthropologist, that Christianity has been integrated into the context of older Choctaw sacred meanings.

Eastern Indians have been fortunate to have achieved and held on to a new and stable synthesis of their life ways. However, all of this poses a dilemma.

Eastern Indians sorely need help from government sources to solve many of their problems. They are a deserving people and they have been grossly neglected by the state and Federal governments. That they have survived at all, much less in such good social shape, is nothing short of a social miracle and says much about their

strength as peoples. No doubt help from governmental sources will soon be forthcoming. But will this help from the great bureaucracies simply erode their institutional structure, break down their cohesion and bring the chaos of the urban world into their lives? I think that both eastern Indians and government bureaucrats will have to exercise a great deal of social sensitivity and creativity in order to create the condition whereby these communities can get the necessary skills and resources to solve their problems while at the same time retaining their social stability and cohesion. There must be a way in America for some Indian groups to have both a rewarding social life and a decent material state of being. Most have neither. Perhaps eastern Indians and their helpers will have the wisdom to accomplish this end.

A significant recent development has been the formation of the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans, Inc. This organization seems modeled after the National Congress of American Indians, an organization of Federally recognized tribes. The Coalition has offices in Washington, puts out a newsletter, organizes conferences of eastern Indian leaders and is government funded. It also acts as a semi-lobbying group to promote the interests of eastern Indians on the national level. This organization could very well weld the eastern Indians into a powerful social and political force nationally and in local areas.

Under the provisions of the Indian Education Act of 1972 a number of eastern Indian communities received funds for the operation of educational programs in their communities. This development may be the most noteworthy event in recent Indian political history. The layman in both the government and the private area considers it significant that communities previously unrecognized by the Federal

government received Federal monies for their local use. The significance is not, however, simple political recognition.

What has been happening everywhere in Indian Affairs is that issues have been depoliticized in some fields and repoliticized in others. Water rights, tribal exemption from taxation and tribal jurisdiction have in a real sense, been repoliticized so that they appear as clearly defined fields of significant content that can be confronted and defined. Education, tribal sovereignty, and Indian religion have in the converse manner been depoliticized; that is to say, the former policies in these fields reflected an abstract set of theories that worked themselves out in political decisions when the fields that these decisions influenced were not political at all.

In the recognition of eastern Indian communities with the new educational funds we must understand the process of the depoliticization of education and a willingness by the Federal government and the Indian people to view educational problems as capable of solution. The path to eventual solution of many of the educational and cultural problems of American Indians will thus be clarified with the inclusion of eastern Indian communities and not their exclusion. They are not after all, subjected to the massive rules and regulations and deliberate sabotage of programs that goes hand in hand with the relationship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The solutions that are discovered by eastern Indian communities will be solutions derived from communities that have suffered dissolution and survived. The solutions that western Federal Indian communities find will always be subject to arbitrary manipulation of outside forces such as the Interior Department so that even data gathered from these programs will have an aspect of unreliability to it.

There should be no question of the eligibility of eastern Indian communities for Federal educational grants if the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is really serious about confronting the educational problems of all American Indians. Only if the progress already made is reversed on purely bureaucratic grounds and education is once again politicized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs will the eastern Indians be denied access to Federal educational funds.

Such a move would be tantamount to admitting that the Federal establishment does not consider education as a serious venture in which it should be involved. Since we have cleared away so many stumbling blocks in education and are now ready to confront the really difficult problems of the education of children and especially of Indian children, one would hope that the articulation of "Indian-ness" discussed in this paper would provide additional information in the consideration of the nature of education in American Indian communities.

Typology - Continuity With Ancestors

1. Tribals

Choctaw	Mississippi
Seminole	Florida
Miccosukke	Florida
"Fullblood" Cherokees	North Carolina
Coushattas	Louisiana

2. Tribals in transition

Chippewa	Michigan
Ottawa	Michigan
Potawatomee	Michigan
Passamaquoddy	Maine
Malecite	Maine
Tunica (?)	Maine
Reservation Miccosukee	Florida

3. "Idealogized" tribals

Mohawk	New York
Onieda	New York
Onondaga	New York
Cayugas	New York
Seneca	New York
Tuscarora	New York
Penobscot (?)	Maine

4. Resurgent peoples

Wampanoag	Massachusetts
Nipmuc	Massachusetts
Narragansett	Rhode Island
Pequot	Connecticut
Mohegan	Connecticut
Schaghticoke	Connecticut
Paugusett	Connecticut
Niantic	Connecticut
Shinnecock	New York
Poosepatuck	New York
Montauk	New York
Setauket	New York
Nanticoke	Delaware
Chickagominy	Virginia
Paumunkey	Virginia
Mattapony	Virginia
Pappahannock	Virginia
Allamaha	Georgia
Creeks	Alabama
Appalachicola	Florida
Chitimacha	Louisiana

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Biloxi	Louisiana
Waccomaw	North Carolina
Cubans (Saponi?)	North Carolina
Catawba	South Carolina

5. Reconstituted peoples

Lumbee	North Carolina
Haliwa	North Carolina
Edisto	South Carolina
"Cajuns"	Alabama
Houna (?)	Louisiana
"Cherokees"	
Amherst County	Virginia
Keating Mt.	
"Cherokees"	Pennsylvania

6. Displaced peoples

Melungeon	Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama & Ohio
Guineas	West Virginia and Ohio
Wesort	Maryland

7. City Indians

There yet may be another category which would be numbered as seven. This category would include certain communities, particularly in the Middle Atlantic states, which seem to have formed as refuges for deviants who were social outcasts of various racial and ethnic origins. The partial Indian origin of these groups is really incidental. Mixed blood Indians simply seem to have wandered into the area as refugees along with other refugees at the period of origin of these groups. The Indian component in such communities is incidental to the formation of the group and is just one of the many racial strains which contributed to the "pot." Such a category might include such groups as the Jackson Whites of New York, the Pools of Pennsylvania, some of the Piney families in New Jersey, and the like. Unfortunately, we do not have enough data presently to "establish" this category.

Footnotes

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